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KING JAMES I. OF ENGLAND AND VI. OF SCOTLAND..

Fac-simile in the colours of the original Painting by Paul Van Somer in the Royal Collection
at Hampton Court Palace.

PREFACE.



NEW biography of James I. and VI. can hardly be deemed superfluous, for no separate life of him in volume form has appeared for over seventy years. While the deeds, experiences and fate of his mother continue to occasion a never-ending supply of varied ventures in literature—both in prose and verse—the son, if we omit Scott's entertaining romance, has in modern times been left severely alone, except by such writers as are primarily concerned with the general annals of the country. For this neglect there are perhaps special causes, which only partly touch the intrinsic importance and interest of his career. He cannot be termed one of the "heroes of the nations;" he has not been reckoned a "great statesman;" whatever he may have achieved on his own behalf, he scarcely secured either the violent hatred or the strong esteem of his contemporaries; it is true, he is associated with one of the most momentous occurrences of British history, the Union of the English and Scottish crowns; but the benefit of this to either country was not greatly apparent in his lifetime.

Nor, full of danger and difficulty and strange experiences as was his life, was he, in the conventional sense of the term, adventurous; and the tragedies which occasionally seemed to threaten him he happily escaped. For the more senti-

mental reader, his life is lacking in the romance attaching to such outstanding figures of the Stewart dynasty as Mary, Charles I., and Prince Charlie. Misfortune and calamity—which had continued to dog the footsteps of his predecessors on the Scottish throne from the time of the first James—if they did not wholly pass him by, did not succeed in overwhelming him. On the contrary, he was, as regards individual power and prosperity, the most favoured of the dynasty. Not only did he achieve the circumvention of the Scottish nobility and clergy, but he was fated to succeed to the great heritage of the English throne, and to establish, at least during his lifetime, an even stricter absolutism than that of the Tudors.

This apparent, though more apparent than real, success of James as a sovereign—a success of a strictly temporary character and akin to the period of quiet that precedes the storm—has thus deprived his life of the thrilling interest which attaches to the lives of the more unfortunate members of his-house. Yet, in view of what was shortly to follow his reign, that reign must be deemed one of the most important in British history : for good or evil the reigns of few sovereigns have been pregnant with more momentous consequences. How far, also, the consequences of his reign have been beneficent or the reverse, or to what extent he or the inevitable trend of events was responsible for its results, are questions which cannot be answered off hand. They can be answered, if at all, only after careful regard to his character and abilities as they were moulded by his peculiar experiences both in Scotland and England, and to the special social problems with which he was faced in both countries. Whatever the weaknesses and defects of James, he possessed a marked idiosyncrasy of his own : if not a great personality, he was at least an uncommon one; and in few reigns did the individual character of the sovereign make itself more felt.

The primary aim of the present biography is neither to belaud nor condemn the political or ecclesiastical policy of James, but rather to supply a record, as impartial as may be, of a very peculiar, and even remarkable, career, and to afford a detailed explanation of his motives, methods and aims. No attempt is here made to judge him by standards derived from modern notions of constitutional statesmanship, for the reason that in his time such standards had hardly begun to exist. It has been deemed sufficient to have regard to him as a

sovereign of his own particular time, who, inheriting old immemorial notions of sovereignty, sought to adapt them to the peculiarities of his own difficult position at a very critical period of British and European history.

The publishers have to record their obligations to his Majesty the King for permission to reproduce the standing portrait by Van Somer of James in his royal robes at Hampton Court Palace, and also the portraits of Philip III. and Gondomar at Hampton Court Palace, and Darnley and his brother at Holyrood Palace. To his Grace the Duke of Bedford they are indebted for portraits of Queen Anne of Denmark, Arabella Stewart, and Ludovic Stuart, at Woburn Abbey; to his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch for a fine series of royal and other miniatures; to the Marquis of Salisbury for permission to photograph the mansion at Hatfield; to Viscount Dillon for notable portraits of Queen Elizabeth, Prince Henry, Philip II., Prince Charles, and Sir Thomas Overbury, as well as for the interesting trophy of the chase which forms one of the tail-pieces; and to Sir T. D. Gibson Carmichael for the interesting sketch of the Regent Morton, procured through the kind offices of Sir Herbert Maxwell. The Director of the British Museum kindly gave permission for reproductions to be made of various medals, the initial letters in King James's *Basilikon Doron*, etc. Portraits from the National Portrait Gallery, London, have been reproduced by kind permission of Mr. Lionel Cust, from whom, also, the author and publishers obtained valuable information and assistance in other directions; and they have also to thank the Senatus of the University of Edinburgh for authority to reproduce the portrait of George Buchanan; and Mr. James L. Caw for a similar favour in regard to the portrait of Sir Peter Young, in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

T. F. HENDERSON.

July 1st, 1904.

JAMES I., ANNE OF DENMARK, AND HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.
From plaster casts of a silver plaque, engraved probably by Simon Passe, in the British Museum.

in the event. "The Prince," relates Spottiswoode, "was carried by the French ambassador, walking between two ranks of barons and gentlemen that stood in the way, from the chamber to the chapel, holding every one a priket of wax in their hands. The Earl of Athole went next to the French ambassador, bearing the great sierge of wax. The Earl of Eglinton carried the salt, the Lord Sempill the rude, and the Lord Ross the basin and laver : all these were of the Roman profession. In the entry of the chapel, the Prince was received by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, whose collaterals were the Bishops of Dunkeld, Dumblane and Ross : there followed them the prior of Whithern, sundry deans and archdeans, with the gentlemen of the chapel, in their several habits and copes. The Countess of Argyll, by commission from the Queen of England, did hold up the Prince at the font, where the Archbishop did administer the baptism with all the ceremonies accustomed in the Roman Church, the spittle excepted, which the Queen did inhibit. The Earl of Bedford entered not in the chapel during the service; and without the doors stood all the noblemen professors of the reformed religion. The rites performed, the Prince was proclaimed by his name and titles, Charles James, prince and steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew." The Venetian ambassador at Paris, in a letter to the Signory, remarked that "the observance at the baptism of all the rites of the Roman Church was very much to the satisfaction of the Catholics, who for the last seven years have never seen any bishop in pontifical habits." But there were two circumstances of ominous significance : "The noblemen professors of the reformed religion stood," as Spottiswoode relates, "without the doors;" and, according to another writer, "notwithstanding of this great triumph, with all the ban-catting, sport, and pastyme, that was ther amang sa noble personages, nather did King Henrie cum ther, albeit he was in Stirling all that tyme, nather was he requyrit or permitted to cum oppinlie."

Yet even those most cognisant of the slumbering fires beneath the apparently smiling quiet of Scottish politics, could hardly have dreamed that the Prince's father—though he was clearly "designed to ruin," and

was fast "fitting" himself "for fate"—would, within less than six weeks of this "triumph and banquetting," from which he was constrained to hold aloof, be foully murdered at Kirk-o'-Field; and that the Prince's mother, two days before the next anniversary of the infant's birth, would be a helpless prisoner in the stronghold of Lochleven. Indeed, such quickly became her stress of fortune that, within little more than a month of her arrival there, she had been induced to demit her crown; and thus, on July 26th, 1567, the infant Prince was the cynosure of Scotland in another high ceremony, with quite a different set of performers. On that day, those of the Lords who some time previously had taken up arms professedly to deliver the Queen from Bothwell, and "to preserve the life of the young Prince," had him crowned and anointed King of Scotland in the church of Stirling by the Bishop of Orkney, assisted by the superintendents of Angus and Lothian, John Knox preaching the coronation sermon, and the Earl of Morton and Lord Home taking the oath for the King that he should maintain and defend the Protestant religion. Whichever party was in the right, that the helpless infant should thus unconsciously have become the instrument of his mother's humiliation was tragically pitiful. Added to this unnatural predicament was—as soon as he "began to ponder those things in his heart"—the unpleasant realization that he was being made the mere shuttlecock of contending interests, or the pivot of perilous intrigues. The abnormal *rôle* he was thus compelled to play could not but accentuate certain of his moral eccentricities, if it did not actually create them; but indeed, even before his birth, fate had dealt unkindly with him, for the violent scene in Holyrood on the night of Rizzio's murder probably vitally affected both his constitution and his character.

Despite, however, much in his position that, King though he was, was far from enviable, in certain respects fortune seemed disposed to be propitious to him. His earliest guardian, the Earl of Mar, whose father had been guardian to James V. as well as Queen Mary, was, according to his lights, specially devoted to his charge's interests; and on the Earl's death, in 1572,

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

From the Painting in the University of Edinburgh.



the guardianship fell to his brother, Alexander Erskine, who is described by Sir James Melville as "a nobleman of trew gentill nature, weill loved and lyked of every man for his gud qualities and gret discretion, in na wayes factious nor envyous, a lover of all honest men, and desyred ever to have sic as wer of gud conversation to be about the Prince, rather than his awen nerer frendis gif he thocht them not sa meit." Lady Mar, who, after the death of her husband, continued in charge of the young King's household, proved—though Knox, on account of her friendship with Queen Mary, denounces her as "a very Jesabell," and "a sweet morsel for the devil's mouth"—also an admirable governess. "Sche was," says Sir James Melville, "wyse and schairp and held the King in great aw" [of her]; and the King evidenced his own high opinion of the manner in which she had done her duty to him by electing to place his son, Prince Henry, under her charge.

Nor was there any lack of care or elaboration in the arrangements for the young King's education. George Buchanan probably owed his appointment to be principal tutor to the fact that he was a feudal dependent and partisan of the Earl of Lennox; but he was of course one of the most renowned scholars and educationists of his time. Though, also, for the times in which he lived, an extreme radical in politics, he cherished a high ideal of the Kingly office, and did his utmost to inspire his pupil with an adequate sense of the importance of his royal duties. Yet he had the defects of his qualities. James, circumstanced as he unhappily was to be, would have been better served by a tutor who had added to Buchanan's accomplishments a better practical knowledge of the world. Though influenced by the best intentions, Buchanan was lacking in tact. "He was," says James Melville, "a stoik philosopher and looked not far before the hand." Extreme partisan as he was apt to be, he did not fail to let the young King know that he entertained the worst opinion of the young King's mother; and in other ways he came to be regarded mainly as an embodiment of severity and rigour. Naturally affectionate though his pupil was, he found it impossible to make a favourite of Buchanan, and as

he afterwards confessed, ever "trembled at his approach." Yet he was always proud of having been his pupil, and could make allowance for the "violence of his humour and heat of his spirit." But Buchanan was already becoming infirm; and although he continued until his death, in 1582, to exercise a general superintendence over his charge's duties, he gradually left the work of instruction more and more to his colleague, Peter Young. In 1579 he dedicated to the King his revolutionary treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, that it might be a "standing witness of his affection towards him, and admonish him of his duty towards his subjects;" and shortly before his death he sent him his newly-published *History of Scotland*, dedicated to him with the hope that it might supply the lack of the author's oral instruction; and enable him from "faithful narratives from history," to "make use of trew advice," and "imitate trew virtue." With what feelings the pupil first perused those very free-spoken productions we are not told; but it is not surprising that, at a later date, they provoked his severe denunciations, and that he prohibited their perusal by his son, Prince Henry.

Buchanan's subordinate colleague, Peter Young, had much the advantage of his friend and patron Buchanan in youth, being at the time of his appointment only in his twenty-sixth year, and having just completed his studies at Geneva. His career was thus before him, and he had more reason than the veteran scholar had "to look before the hand." "Mester Peter Young," writes Sir James Melville, "was gentill, and was laith to offend the King at any tyme, and used himself warily, as a man that had mynd his awen weill in keping of his Majesty's favour." That favour he did succeed in retaining, but no doubt in part by his own merits as well as by regard for the King's approbation. James evidently came to entertain a high opinion of his judgment and trustworthiness, for he selected him as commissioner for his marriage, made him in 1596 one of his Octavians, and in 1604 chose him to be tutor and master to the household to Prince Charles. In February 1605 he made him a knight, and in November 1616 obtained for him the mastership of St. Cross Hospital,

Winchester. From an undated account by Young of his pupil's routine of study, it would appear that while his main attention was devoted to Greek and Latin, such subjects as Arithmetic, Geography, Astronomy, Dialectic and Rhetoric were by no means neglected. From his *Essays of a Prentice*, 1584, we must moreover infer that he had been carefully taught the art of writing verse, after the fashion of the old "makaris;" but here his instructor may have been the poet Montgomerie; and he was no doubt accustomed also to converse on the subject with the Hudsons, both of whom, from his early infancy, were "violars" in his household.

James possessed a remarkable memory for minute details, and was sharp-witted and very precocious. The Kilkenny minister, James Melville, who, with his uncle Andrew, had an interview with him in Stirling in October 1574, thus admiringly describes him: "We remained two dayes, and saw the King, the sweitest sight in Europe that day for strange and extraordinary gifts of ingyne, judgment, memorie and langage. I hard him discours, walking upe and doun in the auld Lady Marr's hand, of knowlage and ignorance, to my grait mervell and estonishment." When Melville penned those enthusiastic paragraphs, he may have been biassed by the hope that the talented boy would yet prove to be one of the main bulwarks of the Scottish Kirk, and, under the direction of Melville's uncle, a great "instrument of righteousness;" but the English ambassador, Killigrew, who saw the King in June of the same year, was almost equally impressed by his acquirements. "His Grace," so he wrote to Walsingham, "is well grown, both in body and spirit, since I was last here. He speaketh the French tongue marvellous well, and, that which seemest strangest to me, was able *ex tempore* (which he did before me) to read a chapter of the Bible out of Latin into French, and out of French after into English, so well as few men could have added anything to his translation. His schoolmasters, Mr. George Buchanan and Mr. Peter Young, rare men, caused me to appoint the King what chapter I would, and so did I, whereby I perceived that it was not studied for. They also made his

highness dance before me, which he likewise did with a very good grace : a prince sure of great hope, if God send him life."

Trained with scrupulous particularity, possessed of a quick memory, and adroitly flattered by his attendants, the youthful scholar, vain of his own acquirements, naturally set a high value on learning. From the catalogue of his library he appears also to have been widely read in the literature of his time; and that so many books were presented to him by the nobility and clergy, seems to indicate a widespread interest in the reports of his precocity. His tutors may, however, have rather overtaken his powers; and so much mechanical discipline may have tended even to stunt rather than develop them. "They gar me speik Latin ar I could speik Scottis," was his own shrewd comment on a tutorial zeal that was a little excessive, even although Buchanan held the conviction that the extinct tongue of mediæval learning was fated to become the language of universal literature. But it was perhaps rather from Young than Buchanan that he caught the pedantic affection to which he was also predisposed. Acute and clever though he was in many ways, and able to express himself with a certain literary grace, his intellect was rather of that type which finds its most congenial pabulum in "wise saws and modern instances;" and he was also curiously eccentric and abnormally interested in the "horrible and awful." Still, eccentric pedantry such as his was then more common than it is now. In two respects also his pedantry was to him as "a shield and buckler." Owing to the theological bent of Young, a pupil of Beza, he became thoroughly grounded in the argumentative solution of the high mysteries of the Universe. The narrow intellectual completeness of a theological system fitted his mind like a glove; and once he had mastered its inerrable propositions, he naturally deemed himself a fully equipped champion against all gain-sayers. His Protestantism, firmly set on such a rock, could not be shaken by any winds or waves of Catholicism. And it was rendered, if that were possible, additionally secure, through the spell exercised over him by the mysterious forecast of the future contained in the *Revelation of*

SIR PETER YOUNG.

From the Painting in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh,
recently in the Townshend Collection.



St. John. One so fascinated as he is proved by his *Meditation* on certain verses of its 20th Chapter to have been, by what he interpreted as its prophetic allusions to the growth and overthrow of the Papacy, could not be expected, except from the compulsion of dire necessity, to succumb to Papal allurements, however much, at certain crises of his career, he might find it profitable to coquet with them. But it was not merely against Catholic contrivances that his theological pedantry was a sure defence : it armed him impenetrably against the assault of his own Protestant clergy. All their pretensions to pose as ecclesiastical authorities over him proved vain; and thus, although he exercised his prerogatives as “head of the Church” in a manner almost as arbitrary as they desired to exercise their assumed authority over every member of the State, he was able to do something to soften for the neck of his subjects the yoke of ecclesiastical tyranny.

The King had as companions and fellow-pupils certain young noblemen : the Earl of Mar, some years his senior, and nicknamed by him “Jockie o’ the sclaitiss,”—he was seemingly a good arithmetician,—Sir William Murray of Abercairnie, Sir Walter Stewart, afterwards Lord Blantyre, and Lord Inverhyle. The Master of the Household was Cunningham of Drumwhassil—whom Sir James Melville describes as self-centred and ambitious—and during his hours of recreation he was attended on by David and Adam Erskine, illegitimate sons of the house of Mar, abbots respectively of Cambus Kennett and Dryburgh, and, according to Melville, “wise and modest.” His main outdoor exercise was riding, and he was fond of beautiful horses, and a passionate lover of the chase.

The earliest recorded public appearance of the King after the ceremony of his coronation was at the Stirling parliament of August 1571, at which the Hamiltons, the Earl of Huntly, and the supporters of the Queen’s party were forfaulted. “The King,” says the author of *The Historie of King James the Sext*, “being convoyit to the Parliament hous, and set at the burde, be fortune he spyit a hole in the burde cloth ; so that, as young children are always inconstant and restles, he preissit to attene to the hole with his fingar, and askit of a Lord wha sat nar by him to know

what hous that was; and he answerit that it was the Parliament hous. Then, said the King, this parliament hes a hole into it." The idle remark of the child was afterwards interpreted as prophetic of the death of his grandfather, the Earl of Lennox. "In verie deid," writes the author above quoted, "the chief leader of that Parliament was stoppit with sic a hole, within five dayis efter this saying, that was the verie cause of his death." Whether the excitement incident to the attempt of Huntly and the Hamiltons—at three o'clock on the morning of September 4th—to capture both parliament and King, penetrated into the sleeping chamber of the royal child, we are not told; but he was old enough to be able afterwards to remember that, after the failure of the attack, his grandfather was brought mortally wounded into the castle to die the same evening. Within little more than a year afterwards—October 29th—died also at Stirling, of a sudden violent sickness, his guardian the Earl of Mar who had succeeded Lennox as regent.

During the regency both of Mar and Lennox the reins of political authority had virtually been in the hands of Morton; and after Mar's death he was, on December 24th, chosen regent "as," to use the words of Spottiswoode, "the man in that time of greatest courage and counsel." While Mary was alive, and during the time that Maitland was in charge of Protestant intrigue and diplomacy, it was to Morton that the party looked for the practical accomplishment of their most hazardous enterprises. If neither more ruthless nor unscrupulous than other Protestant or Catholic statesmen of his time, he was equalled by few, if any, in nerve. He led the band of midnight assassins who murdered Rizzio in the Queen's chamber; he had hardihood enough, when he was practically at Bothwell's mercy, to resist the efforts of Bothwell to entangle him in the murder of Darnley, and he was equal to the task of heading the conspiracy against Bothwell after Bothwell's marriage to the Queen; he undertook, after the Queen's surrender at Carberry, to bring her a prisoner to Edinburgh, whence he sent her to be under the charge of his relative Sir William Douglas in the castle of Lochleven; he superintended the negotiations for her demission of the government, and, at the coronation of the young Prince at Stirling,

he took the oath on his behalf; and now, as regent, he was fated to effect the final overthrow of the Queen's cause in Scotland by obtaining, 29th May, 1573, the surrender of Edinburgh castle. By arranging terms with Huntly and the Hamiltons, through the pacification of Perth on the 23rd of the previous February, he had rendered further defence of the castle a mere act of desperation, but its fall, imminent though for some months it had been, must have thrilled the whole of Scotland. That the flag of the Queen's supporters should have continued so long to float above Scotland's capital had been one of the hardest trials to the heart of Knox : and while the sight of its defences (though this spectacle Knox did not live to behold) "running," at last, "like a sandy bray" gave inexpressible satisfaction to his disciples—who now were more than ever assured that he was a "trew prophet"—it struck the hearts of the Queen's supporters with the chill of despair, and they were reported to be crying "to God for strength to bear their martyrdom like the Christians of the primitive Church."

The prestige of the achievement must have greatly augmented the reputation and authority of Morton who, besides, was now the last of the greater leaders of the Protestant revolt. Moray, Knox and Mar had left the stage before he had assumed the regency; Argyll who, after proving recreant to Protestantism, had made his peace with Morton, was now also dead; Kirkcaldy, the former general of the party, was after his heroic defence of the castle on behalf of Queen Mary, hanged by Morton's orders on the gibbet at the cross; and Maitland, Morton's old associate, only escaped a similar death by the fatal termination of an "old disease." Of necessity, therefore, Morton now occupied a position of solitary greatness, and had to endure "the burden and heat of the day" alone. But his was one of those self-sustained personalities that are almost without need of external approval, and to whom the applause of the crowd counts for nothing. Preferring to be his own pilot, he steered his own course, undeterred by tempests and perils; and, if his judgment was partly biassed by avarice or ambition, he at least never held "counsel with weak fear." Nor, however constant his regard to his own interests, can it be denied that his states-

manship was, in many ways, enlightened, and that in his attitude to other nations he worthily upheld the dignity of his country. True, his foreign policy was in the main that of preceding regents; for not only had that policy always had his support, but the supremacy of his party and his own existence as regent depended on his remaining faithful to it. He had given such "hostages to fortune" as almost compelled him to one line of action. For one whose sins against Mary and the Catholics had been so crimson, alliance with England was imperative. Yet we may believe that, in cultivating that alliance, he was even more influenced by patriotic than personal motives. Like Maitland, he discerned that Scotland was too weak to hold her own unaided in the great European struggle, and that an alliance with Spain or France would mean her mere absorption by either. Both he and Maitland were nominally Protestants; but it was the political problem involved in the Protestant struggle that mainly interested them; and, unlike Moray and Knox, they were not concerned primarily for the "maintenance of God's trew religion." Apart from this latter consideration, there were ample reasons for seeking to join England and Scotland in "perpetual friendship;" and the increasing possibility of the Scottish succession to the English throne by peaceable means, rendered it specially advisable that the countries should meanwhile be on good terms with each other. Towards this solution of the traditional dispute between them, Scottish diplomacy had long been bent; and when it became more and more certain that Elizabeth was destined to die childless, to obtain recognition of the Scottish succession became the paramount aim of Scottish statesmanship. But what was Elizabeth's aim or wish in the matter, or whether she had a preference of any kind, was hard to tell. It was only certain that she looked on the Scots much as her father had done: while enticing them into confidence by all kinds of plausibility, she yet omitted no opportunity of assuming the old theoretical overlordship; and although making use of the Scottish politicians for her own temporary purposes, she had no compunction in sacrificing them if any exigency demanded it. To hold his own against her wily scheming and overweening assertiveness, and yet

to succeed in retaining her respect and confidence, was the difficult task that fate had assigned to Morton; and that he succeeded so long in satisfying and checkmating her, and this without stooping, as Moray thought it expedient to do, to temporary truckling, says much both for his political insight and rare strength of character.

So much for Morton's foreign policy. As regards his domestic rule, even his enemies were constrained to admit that substantially it was a great success. Neither feudal conflicts nor public dissensions of any kind obtained the smallest tolerance. His remorseless decision overawed for a time even the most headstrong of his fellow nobles. "This Regent," says Sir James Melville, "held the contre onder gret obedience to ane establissit estait, better than was many yeares of before nor yet sen syn." Sir James indeed adds that one reason of the quiet was that there was "not another Erl of Mortoun to steir up the subjectis in faction;" but neither could he stir up faction after he was away. Nor was Morton's rule really oppressive. On the contrary, arbitrary tyranny or any similar kind of wrongdoing had under him very short shrift. "This fyve years," writes James Melville, the Kilkenny minister, "was estimed to be als happie and peacable as ever Scotland saw." As a consequence of his wise and just administration, she recovered with great rapidity from the disastrous consequences of prolonged civil strife; and in 1574 her sudden increase in wealth and comfort struck the English ambassador with astonishment. Indeed the five years of Morton's regency, in their beneficent consequences on the general welfare, strikingly resemble the period of Scotland's subjection to Cromwell; and not until the Union was she again to experience a similar prosperity.

Nevertheless, Morton's administration is supposed by some to have been tainted by corruption, though the corruption was confined to himself. His chief expedients for raising money were the debasing of the coinage; the exaction of fines as a general punishment for all kinds of contumacy and crime; and the creation of a larger surplus than was previously available from the third of the benefices set apart for the Protestant clergy, — which he effected by reducing their numbers by more than half. In addition,

he was inexorable in his efforts for the recovery of the crown jewels, and of the lands that had been alienated from the crown. It no doubt suited criminals, clergy and nobles alike, to represent him as in all this actuated mainly by personal avarice; and, indeed, such was the general rapacity of the nobles, that it was hard to believe that one so adroit and determined in acquiring money, and so neglectful of the custom of sharing the spoils with his friends, was not mainly intent on his own enrichment. Thus we find even his staunch relative, Douglas of Lochleven, in a letter of March 3rd, 1577, reproving him for that form of avariciousness manifested in lack of liberality to his own friends: "for surely I see perfectly," he says, "that your own particlars are not contented, lat by the rest, and that most principally for your hard dealing." But to this Morton caustically answered: "For the avariciousness laid to our charge, indeed it lies not in us so liberall to deal the King's geare [money] so as to satisfy all cravers, nor never shall any sovereign and native born prince, let be any officer, eschew [escape] the disdains of such, as thinke them judges to their own reward; in many cause I doubt not to find the assistance of my friends, but where my actions shall appear unhonest, I will not crave their assistance, but let me bear my own burthen." As matter of fact, no charge of malversation of public funds or property was ever brought against Morton; and indeed the money expended in quieting the Borders, and in repairing the royal castles and palaces, must have consumed the bulk of the extra revenue. There is therefore every reason to suppose that though "wonderfullie giffen to gather gear," he, in his public capacity, gathered it, as he professed, "to enritche the King withal."

Like other nobles, Morton shared largely in the Reformation perquisites; but there is no proof that he utilized his office of regent for his own special enrichment. His provision for his illegitimate children out of the revcnues of certain tulchan bishoprics has been adduced as a proof of his nepotism as regent. Had he utilized his office for this purpose, he would only have been following the example of previous Scottish dignitaries—Bishops, Cardinals and Kings—but the tulchan device, which was introduced before

his regency, was invented for the benefit of the nobles in general and not of Morton in particular. On becoming regent he, however, utilized the old arrangement, in order to establish a real episcopate which, under the King, might exercise superintendence over the procedure of the Kirk, his main aims being, according to James Melville, "to abolish the privilege and force of the General Assemblies, and restrain free preaching"—that is, preaching on special matters of state policy. For this, according to James Melville, he had two motives:—"Ane that the King might be a frie King and monarche, haiffing the rewel and power of all Estaitis, quhilk the Kirk's General Assemblie empeared [impaired]. Ane uther to be conforme with England in the Kirk's policie." He saw that the arrogant assumptions of the clergy menaced civil liberty, and that their constant interference both in foreign and domestic politics might seriously imperil the safety of the country. Naturally therefore he hankered after the ecclesiastical subordination and tranquillity that prevailed in England; and he also hoped that the establishment of a similar ecclesiastical polity to that of England would, by the unity of sentiment it might promote, greatly enhance the chances of the Scottish succession.

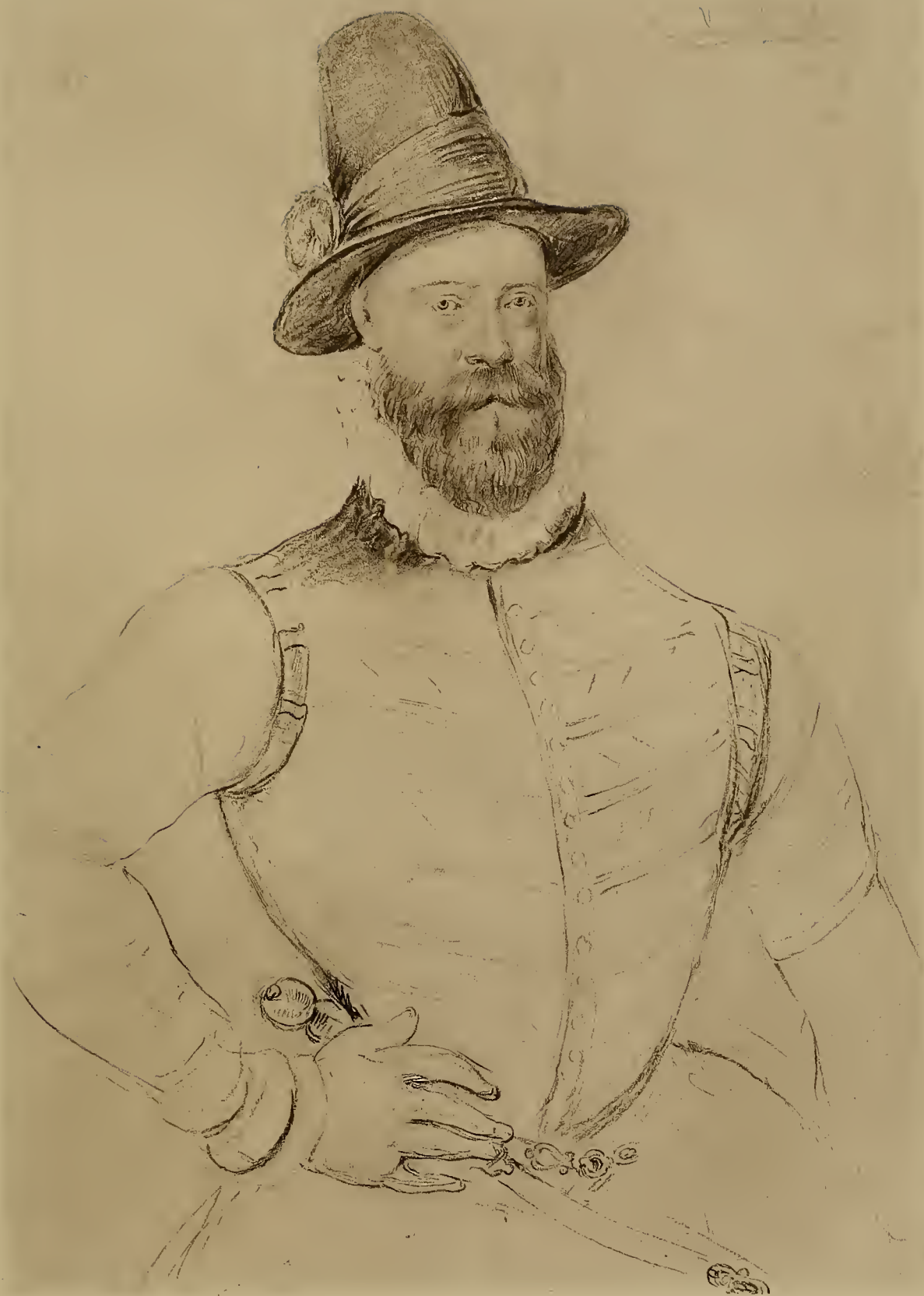
But granted the greatness of Morton's provocation, and that his intentions on the whole were good and wise, it can hardly be said that, as an ecclesiastical reformer, he was conspicuously successful. Ecclesiastical efficiency he may have regarded as of some importance, but only of minor importance. He was averse to intemperate religious zeal; and the zeal of the Scottish clergy had got rather out of hand before he began to deal with it. Then, since the bulk of the clergy were anti-Episcopalian, it was difficult to obtain not merely a thoroughly efficient but even a moderately respectable episcopate. The most therefore that can be said for his policy is that, for the time being, it in various ways effectually checked the unwise interference of the clergy in matters of state. This, unhappily, could not be accomplished in a manner that was quite satisfactory; but is there sufficient reason for concluding with Mr. Lang (*History of Scotland. II. 253.*) that "Under Morton the Kirk was being reduced to the same condition as the

Church before the Reformation?" Were not many of the ante-Reformation evils due to the excessive affluence of the clergy and the corruptions of celibacy and monasticism? Whereas, was it not one of Morton's chief aims to prevent Jeshurun waxing fat and kicking? Like Elizabeth he was disposed rather to restrain than promote the influence of the clergy; and it is even possible that he regarded the clergy as little better than a necessary evil; but he had no liking for inefficiency in connection with any department of the administration.

But whatever view may be taken of Morton's dealings with the Kirk, of his greatness as a civil ruler there can be no question. Softness and blandness were not his most conspicuous qualities; but his strong, rude, and fierce nature, enabled him to succeed where a more pattern person would most certainly have failed. In judging also not merely of his public procedure, but of his principles and character, we must have regard to the nature of his environment. He was the product of a corrupt and violent age; and, though latterly a nominal Protestant, he never made any pretence to pietism. In regard to what are termed "morals," he was no whit more reputable than the friars, bishops, or cardinals, who were the subjects of some of Knox's most pointed pleasantries. But it can certainly be claimed for him—and this was all he claimed for himself—that he was instant in the devotion to the duties of his high office, and this not on his own behalf, but on that of his successor; and he very justly protested against his zeal and economy as administrator being reckoned to him for personal greed and ambition. Had he been monarch, such a charge might have been relevant; but, in a very few years at the utmost, he had to hand over the insignia of power with all the appurtenances thereof to another. "The bearing," he writes, "to the charge of the government of the realm, indeed, mon lead us, or any other that shall occupy that place, not simply to respect ourself, but his Majesty's rounge which we supply, and therein not transcending the bounds of measure, as, we trust, it shall not be found we have done, it ought not to be attributed to any ambition in us. For as soon as ever his Majesty shall think himself ready

THE REGENT MORTON.

From the Crayon Drawing in the possession of Sir Thomas D. Gibson Carmichael.



and able for his own government, none shall more willingly agree and advance the same nor I, since I think never to set my face against him, whose honour, safety and preservation has been so dear to me."

It has been necessary to explain, at some length, Morton's conduct as regent, not merely because it is often misunderstood, but because, although the King was too young fully to appreciate his services at the time, they were to have a peculiar influence on the King's own rule. It was something to have preserved the King safely in Scotland against the efforts both of English and foreign intrigue, and it was much, while baffling the undue interference of Elizabeth, to have obtained the benefits of a constant English alliance. Nor can too great praise be assigned to his unselfish energy in the repression of crime and disorder, and the improvement of the royal finances. But the main feature of his regency was the endeavour to inaugurate a new method of supreme government, both by narrowing the irresponsible jurisdiction of the nobles and curbing the interference of the Kirk in politics and civil matters. His system was one of semi-absolutism, with the exception that he had the aid of a carefully selected Privy Council; and it was adopted by James with more or less success, and with deviations corresponding to differences in temperament, wisdom, and force of character.

But the very thoroughness with which Morton was discharging his task was to work his undoing—his weakness being that he held office only for a time. True, even the Scottish Kings were much at the mercy of combinations of the nobles. Having no force of armed men at their disposal they enjoyed only a very shadowy sovereignty; and, at least in the eyes of the nobles, they were not enshrined in that singular majesty which in those ages conferred on monarchy an almost superhuman dignity. Still, even in Scotland the King's individual character counted for much; and had Morton, with such unique abilities as a ruler, been also clothed with the glamour and permanent rights of Kingship, he could probably have defied all attempts to oust him from power. But being only a temporary substitute for the Sovereign, he could hardly have rendered his position secure except by the customary expedients of usurpers—bribery

and corruption. Instead, however, of stooping to this, he was a determined opponent of all kinds of illegality and disorder. For "his perpetuall policie and cullour of justice," writes the author of *The Historie of King James the Sext*, "whareby he puneist transgressors, and uthers saikles, the greatest part of the people fearit him, and consequentlie invyit him. Secondlie, because he forgeit faultis againis men of ritches and great rents, invy was the mair heapit up againis him." Doubtless he was well aware of this ill-will; but he trusted to the general good sense of the nation; and especially to the content that would follow an increase in general prosperity. But the ill-will of all classes of offenders, coupled with the jealousy of his fellow nobles and the machinations of the Kirk, was to prove too much for him. Slowly and almost imperceptibly his influence became so undermined that at last only the mere semblance of power was left him; and at one hostile touch his authority toppled down like a house of cards.

The occasion of Morton's fall was a joint conspiracy of Argyll and Atholl, encouraged and aided, if not suggested, by Alexander Erskine the King's guardian, and Cunningham of Drumwhassil the master of the household. Morton had incurred Argyll's hostility by compelling the Countess of Argyll—widow of the Regent Moray—to deliver up a famous royal jewel; and both Argyll and Atholl cherished a grudge against him, because he had prevented them settling a quarrel of their own by the usual method of recourse to arms. Their common grievance against the Regent brought about their reconciliation; and shortly after this, Argyll, besides declining to receive a legal message sent him by the Regent, permitted his followers to maltreat and rob the messenger. For this he was summoned to appear before the Privy Council, and failing to appear he was on January 17th, 1577-8, denounced rebel and put to the horn. Argyll's act of defiance was so wanton and deliberate that it could not be overlooked; and Morton had disposed of it according to the customary legal methods; but Argyll being now reduced to extremity, and possessed, besides, of what he deemed a momentous grievance, resolved on the wholly irregular expedient of appealing directly to the young King, access to whom was obtained through

Alexander Erskine. The proposal they had to make was not merely very specious, but entirely flattering to the boy's self-importance. They suggested that he should call a meeting of the nobles at Stirling for March 10th, to try Argyll's case. Yet though the King was too young to comprehend fully their sinister aims, he would hardly have agreed to their proposal had he not already been prejudiced against Morton. Here indeed was the weak joint in Morton's armour. Not only were Erskine and Cunningham his enemies, but the King's tutors (including Buchanan who had a quarrel with Morton about a favourite horse), and most of his attendants had been systematically expressing their bad opinion of him. According to Sir James Melville, one cause of their dislike was his neglect to bribe them; and when on the advice of others he was induced to begin the practice, it was then too late, since the King was so sharp of wit that he at once detected their changed method of alluding to the Regent. Be this as it may, the conspirators, having the approval of the King, held the winning card of the first game. No doubt, at the very beginning, Morton could have crushed the conspiracy had he determined to do so. But he had to look to the future: his position would become very dangerous as soon as the King came of age, should he have endeavoured to hold office against the King's wishes. He must have divined the real intent of the farce to which the King had been induced to become a party; but if at first inclined to treat it with mere scorn, he would be rudely awakened as to its tragic possibilities by the letter of his kinsman, Douglas of Lochleven. "I pray your grace," he writes, "flatter not yourself; for if your grace believes that ye have the good will of them that are the King's good-willers, ye deceive yourself; for surely I see perfectly that your own particulars are not contented," etc. What then was he to do? The nobles who would appear at Stirling would be mainly partisans of Argyll and Atholl; although the two Earls had the consummate impudence to desire, in the King's name, the presence of Morton himself. They may even have hoped that he would appear, and have counted on his well-known audacity for an opportunity of seizing him. But he was not so

abject as to overlook the insult to his office, nor so foolish as to place his head within the lion's mouth. Since, however, the request had been made in the name of the King, he deputed, on his behalf, Angus, Glamis, Herries and Ruthven, not to take part in the pretended convention, but with fully detailed information from the Council records, regarding the unruly conduct of Argyll and Atholl, and with the request that the King after considering it should let him know his pleasure regarding them: "that if his highness would allow him to follow the course of the law, he might do his duty; if otherwise his Majesty thought fit to oversee their disobedience, that he would be pleased to disburden him of his office, and not suffer his own name and authority to be despised in the person of his servant." He probably did not dream that the official information sent the King would affect the issue, for the two earls had the King virtually in their power; but he wished if possible to avoid the scandal of an open quarrel between the King and himself. Moreover, his position of unenviable pre-eminence had for some time been causing him anxiety; and he was probably sincere in professing his willingness to retire from it, provided a satisfactory Council of Regency were elected. But the conspirators had of course no desire in any way to break his fall. The sooner and more utterly they could crush him, the safer it would be for themselves. He might even already be meditating a sudden blow against them; and resolving not to stand on ceremony they gave him no time to send in his formal demission: "resolution was taken to discharge the Regent of his authority and publish the King's acceptance of the government." Their resolve was, of course, grossly illegal, for no such complete change of administration could be effected without the sanction of Parliament; but having failed to bring about a compromise, Morton had hardly other option than to submit to the indignity of nominal dismissal from office; although he did his best to retire with becoming dignity and adequate reservation of liberty as regards his future action. When the King's "acceptance of the government" was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, on March 12th, he therefore appeared there, and formally demitted the

government in the King's favour, protesting however that if the King should accept the government "for the preheminance of any subject of the cuntrie, uther than himself, his demission sould avaiill nathing." By this ready compliance he left his enemies without further handle against him, and was also able to complete legal arrangements for a full discharge to himself and his friends "of all things that might be laid to him or them during his administration."

The exact aims of the conspiracy — apart from the overthrow of Morton — cannot now be determined. Mary's letters to Beaton show that for some time previously she had been in communication with the Master of Erskine and Drumwhassil, and was anxious to engage them in a scheme for the removal of her son to France; but if any of the conspirators favoured this, the plot had no time to develop. At the convention, a Council had been appointed to manage affairs until a meeting of the Parliament at Edinburgh on July 10th; but the next act of the drama opened on the early morning of April 26th with the sudden seizure of Stirling Castle by the young Earl of Mar, supported by his half-uncles the two illegitimate Erskines. Argyll was the only one of the new Council in the castle, and both he and Erskine were ejected. According to Bowes, the English Ambassador, they might have "overmatched" the young earl's supporters; but they "agreed at length to remove thence and drawe to concord specially to satisfy the King, who of the tumult (as is reported) was in great feare, and teared his hayre, sayeing the Master was slayne; and (as I am informed) his grace by night hath bene by this meanes so discouraged as in his sleepe he is therewith greatly disquieted." Morton's connection with the exploit cannot be traced; but since he was on good terms with the old Lady Mar's brother, Murray of Tullibardine (who, it is worth noting, had in the previous September obtained relief of his caution for Erskine's conduct as Keeper of the King), it is unlikely that she had any connection with the Argyll faction; and since the King, now that he had reached the age of twelve, was no longer under her immediate charge, she would be more anxious that the succession of her

son to the guardianship should be recognised. It was also significant that, as Bowes reports, Douglas of Lochleven, on being advertised of what had happened, came the same day to Stirling, and having, with some show of reluctance on the part of Mar, been admitted to the castle, sent his servant to communicate with Morton, remaining himself meanwhile in the castle. An effort was made by the temporary Council to overawe Mar, by sending a party of armed men from Edinburgh to threaten the castle; but they were stayed by a message from the King that the whole matter was a private dissension between Mar, and the Master, which he advised them to arrange peaceably. It was therefore agreed that the King should remain with Mar at Stirling, and that the Master should have charge of Edinburgh Castle. Thereafter Argyll and Atholl had on May 22nd, a conference with Morton in Edinburgh, whence, after they had apparently agreed to let bygones be bygones, they accompanied Morton to Dalkeith, and were entertained to dinner. Immediately thereafter, however, Morton rode to Stirling, where he was at once admitted into the castle, and permitted to remain with the King night and day. Mar's reason for thus favouring Morton is obvious: he could have no faith in the pretended compromise, for on the King's arrival in Edinburgh for the meeting of Parliament, his guardianship of him would meanwhile be in abeyance, and he might never recover it.

The King was thus for some time to be under Morton's immediate tutorship. The convention called to meet at Stirling to prepare matters for the ensuing Parliament, met, as had been arranged; but those who now thought fit to attend were mainly Morton's creatures, and readily gave assent to the King's wishes as revised by Morton. It was therefore agreed that Morton should be added to the temporary Council with, as befitted his position as Ex-regent, "the first place therein;" and it was also decided that the meeting of Parliament, after being fenced in Edinburgh, should be transferred to Stirling, where the King "be ressonne of his minoritie and inhabilitie to travell, wes thocht guid be the moist pairt of woitoris to remeane." Morton had thus with bold dexterity uti-

lized for his own purposes the arrangements of his opponents. Whether the Parliament at Stirling had been held within the great hall of the castle or in the half-ruinous Tolbooth, it would have been equally vain for them to have attended it. They therefore protested, and with a certain show of reason, against its being held in an armed fortress; but whether their protest was real or feigned, they could hardly object to the result of the Parliament's deliberations, for both was Morton's demission of the regency confirmed, and the King "authorised in the government in his own person." Moreover when the Parliament assembled "the King stuid up, and declaired be his awin mouthe in judgment the plaice to be moist suire for his awin persoun," &c.

We need not assume that the King made this declaration under compulsion. With his nobles divided into hostile parties, it would not be difficult to persuade the rather nervous boy that he would be much safer meanwhile within the walls of his accustomed home than in Edinburgh, where many kinds of evil chances might befall him. Then something must be allowed for his contact with Morton's personality, who would contrast rather agreeably with the ogre image suggested by the hostile stories of his enemies. Though blunt in speech and remorseless in decision, Morton frequently showed that he could be pleasantly diplomatic when the occasion demanded; and knowing human nature as he did, he would not find it a hard task to persuade the King of his good intentions towards him. And even if the King had still his own mistaken suspicions, he had probably already learned something of his peculiar art of temporising. In any case, he must have now known that much might depend on retaining Morton's good-will. If he broke with Morton, how could he be certain of retaining the favour of England and Elizabeth? Morton could hardly have failed to remind him how much this might mean to him; and that the sharp-witted boy appreciated his counsel is evident from a decision of the June convention to send an immediate embassy to England not merely—while announcing his assumption of the government in his own person—to arrange for settling Border disputes and other similar

matters, but to crave the right of succession to the Lennox estates in England, and to enter into a mutual league for the lifetime of both sovereigns—a most comprehensive and far-reaching proposal in which much more was implied than was fully expressed. Morton it is evident had dangled very effectively before the eyes of the aspiring boy the prospect of the English succession which, until he ascended the English throne, was to be his main political loadstar, whatever the variety of his political vagaries.

The very completeness of Morton's victory made it only the more exasperating to his opponents. At the Parliament a new Council was chosen, of which indeed Atholl as chancellor and Argyll as justice-general were members, but in which Morton was to have a certain undefined pre-eminence; and four non-official members were in turn to wait on the King, Morton being included in the first four, while Atholl and Argyll on account of their offices were debarred from attending on him. At the instance, therefore, of Atholl, Argyll and others, who claimed to be the real Privy Council, a declaration was issued from Edinburgh against the "violent and wicked designs" of Morton, and it was announced that the "chosen councillors of the King's Majesty," having resolved to hazard their goods lives and lands for the delivery of his person from thralldom, commanded "in our sovereign lord's name," all within the age of sixty and sixteen, to assemble on August 10th for this purpose at Stirling. Counter proclamations issued from Stirling, in the King's name, against the "illegal gathering of armed men," only added fuel to the fire of the Edinburgh party's indignation; and therefore an armed levy on the King's behalf was summoned for the same date, to be under the command of the King's lieutenant, the Earl of Angus. The Atholl and Argyll faction had the superiority in numbers, being some 7000 to the 5000 under Angus. But the latter had to act merely on the defensive; and Morton being with the King, had, even though he did not profess to be longer Regent, perhaps more than the proverbial nine-tenths of the law. The inherent weakness of Atholl's and Argyll's case was shown by their agreeing to the mediation of Bowes the English ambassador, who was bound to be

favourable to Morton. Also, their party was composed of somewhat heterogeneous elements, cemented for the time being by very various motives; and their policy, apart from hostility to Morton, was somewhat indefinite. The indignation of the Edinburgh citizens at the transference of the Parliament to Stirling, and the jealousy of the Douglasses, entertained by certain Border chiefs, were being utilized by Atholl and Argyll for certain purposes of their own, related to a scheme on behalf of the Queen, which as yet was only half-developed. Though Atholl was in the confidence of the Queen and her advisers, he probably did not intend to commit himself even to a scheme for the King's transference to France, far less to the wilder one of a French invasion; and it is doubtful if Argyll was disposed to engage in any more definite plot than that for the overthrow of Morton. From the beginning, therefore, the party lacked cohesion; and moreover, before Bowes was accepted in the definite rôle of mediator, a fatal blow was dealt to it by Lord Hunsdon empowering Bowes to "declare too the Lord of Sefforde, Sir James Hewme, warders of Tyvydale and the Marche, and too all the gentylmen yn theyr company whyche were a very grete party one that syde, and most furyusly bent agenst Morton, that yf they dyd nott presently retyre witt all theyr forcys, and be content too put theyr cawsys too thee Queen's Majestie, that I wolde presently sett fyir yn theyr howsys att theyr baks" — "which letter," he adds, "I perceve by Mr. Bowes came yn goode tyme."

Thus, despite their menacing front, the insurgents, by virtue of Hunsdon's threat, were already in an almost hamstrung condition. Many were prepared to desert should fighting be insisted on, and only remained to have an opportunity of backing out of the venture with as good a grace as possible. An agreement was thus arrived at with surprising facility and was signed by James on the 15th. It provided that the forces on both sides should be disbanded, except a few horsemen for special purposes; that the action of the Lords at Edinburgh in taking up arms should be accepted as "good service done;" that Argyll — there is no mention of Atholl — should have the same access to the King as other

members of the Council; that Montrose and Lindsay should be added to the Council; that eight noblemen, with the advice of Elizabeth, should be nominated before the first of May for the reconciliation of the factions; and that the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton should remain as before in the custody, respectively, of Alexander Erskine and Cunningham of Drumwhassil, until the decision of the eight arbiters.

The general effect of the agreement was to baffle for the time being the aims of Morton's opponents; and that the most bitter of them — Atholl, Argyll, Montrose and Lindsay — had consented to it only from necessity, was shown by their continued absence from the Privy Council meetings. In addition also to sulking, they hesitated to complete the agreement. When desired by the King to name four noblemen for their side for a meeting of the arbiters at Stirling on September 21st, they objected both to the time and place. Finally, however, a meeting was arranged for at Inveresk church on October 16th; and after a full settlement, the chief disputants dined together in a Leith tavern. Next day Atholl and Argyll went to Stirling to have an interview with the King, but if their intention was to serve any private purpose of their own, they did not succeed; and at the convention of the nobility held at Stirling on January 15th, as well as at the Parliament of the March 15th, the proceedings were harmonious. After the Parliament, the Privy Council deliberated on the question of the King's safety; and the King having decided, until "he saw further," to remain in Stirling Castle, elaborate arrangements were made for attendance on him during excursions. Evidently the King was quite satisfied, meanwhile, with Morton's mentorship; and had no desire for any new adventures.

While the Kirk authorities had been observing a benevolent neutrality towards the efforts for Morton's overthrow, they had been utilizing the opportunity of his waning influence for the reassertion of their power. A long pedantic set of "heads and conclusions" — usually termed the Second Book of Discipline — had been prepared before Morton's fall, and at an Assembly held in April 1578 it was resolved that after final revisal it should be presented to the King. It had therefore been sent to the Stirling

Parliament, whereupon a commission of the Estates had been named to confer with the Kirk commissioners, with power to decide in case of agreement; but though "such general heads as did not touch the authority of the King, nor prejudge the liberty of the State, were easily agreed", the "rest were passed over or deferred to further reasoning." At the meeting of the Assembly in July, a letter was read from the King requesting the Assembly to refrain meanwhile, from prejudging such matters "touching the policy of the Kirk" as had been remitted for the consideration of the Parliament; but at the next Assembly it was resolved to put them in practice, without insisting on their ratification. Thus the old dispute between Morton and the Kirk, now in an acute stage, was virtually handed over by Morton to the King, whose views, he had soon opportunity to show, corresponded very closely with those of his master. At the "earnest dealing" of Andrew Melville, the magistrates of Glasgow had, according to Spottiswoode—who, although the story is disputed, knew Glasgow well—agreed to demolish the Cathedral—the last "idoltrous monument," left unruined, in Scotland—and to build with the materials "some little churches" (doubtless of the customary barn type) in other parts of the city; when the "crafts of the city" took up arms, and swore "that he who did cast down the first stone should be buried under it." For this defiance of Melville, the leaders of the tumult were brought before the Council, when the King, "not as then thirteen years of age, taking the protection of the crafts, allowed the opposition they had made, and inhibited the ministers (for they were the complainers) to meddle any more in that business, saying 'that too many churches had been already destroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuses in that kind.'" But no doubt Melville attributed the interference of the King to the counsel of Morton.

To celebrate the reconciliation of the rival lords Morton entertained them to a feast at Stirling, shortly after which Atholl was taken ill, and after leaving Stirling Castle on April 10th died on the 24th at Kincardine Castle near Auchterarder. As was almost inevitable, his death was attributed to poison at the instance of Morton; but Spottiswoode affirms "that

the physicians did upon their oaths, declare that his death was not caused by any extraordinary mean," though "the scandal was fostered a long time by a sort of rhyming libels," composed by an Edinburgh schoolmaster and another person who were both "executed for the same at Stirling at the end of the summer." Questioned on the subject by the clergy before his execution, Morton not only expressed utter abhorrence of such a method of getting rid of an enemy, but asserted that had he been a hundred against Atholl alone, he would not have touched a hair of his head; and it is possible that he entertained more respect for the avowed hostility of Atholl, than the indifferent friendship of many of the Protestants.

Accidental or not, Atholl's death was opportune; for it facilitated the renewal of the prosecution of Lords Claud and John Hamilton for the murder of the two regents, Moray and Lennox. By the Pacification of Perth 1572-3, their prosecution was merely suspended; but it was provided that, on account of their near heirship to the crown, Morton, being only regent, would not deal further with them except on the advice of Elizabeth. But the King having now nominally assumed the government, it had to be decided whether the prosecution should go on or be finally abandoned; and on April 30th the King, by advice of the Privy Council, declared that the doom of forfeiture, which had been in suspense, should be immediately executed. Such a decision was inevitable, for their supposed crimes were exceedingly flagrant; and at this particular juncture everything was against them. They were the hereditary enemies of the house of Lennox from whom the King was descended; and on account of their intimate connection with the murder both of his father and grandfather, and the constant intrigues of the family to attain to the Scottish throne, the King had conceived for them a hatred which was largely compounded of dread. That they had been spared so long, probably implied that Morton cherished no special animosity against them. Alternate alliances and quarrels had characterized the relationships of the Hamiltons and the Douglases for more than a century; and Morton and the father of the prosecuted Hamiltons had been married to sisters, though as Morton's wife had become

insane he had no issue to be devoted to them "by bond of blood." But if disinclined to take the initiative against them, there were important reasons why he should give active support to their prosecution. While regent, he had great difficulty in restraining his near relative Sir William Douglas of Lochleven from avenging the death of his half-brother the Regent Moray; Mar, a near relative of Sir William, would doubtless also be anxious to take part in his feud; and the Regent Moray's widow would be importunate with her second husband Argyll (whom it was of great importance that Morton should conciliate) to obtain for her revenge. Moreover their pursuit would be as a sop to Cerberus to direct the attention of Morton's enemies from himself. Once, therefore, prosecution was decided on, he manifested no lack of promptitude in his efforts to hand the Hamiltons over to them. Nevertheless, both—having received timely warning—escaped to England; after which the whole estates of the family were forfeited, although the nominal head, the Earl of Arran, a hopeless imbecile, had had no connection with the crimes of which his brothers were accused.

The escape of the Hamiltons was to complicate considerably the King's future; but meanwhile their ruin rendered indisputable the claims of the King's relatives of the house of Lennox to be next heirs to the crown. Besides James VI., the only surviving descendants of the Regent Lennox and Lady Margaret Douglas was Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of Darnley's younger brother; and the earldom of Lennox had devolved on James VI. who on June 16th 1578 had conferred it on his uncle Robert, second son of the third earl, brother of the late regent. But though married, this earl had no issue and was advanced in years; and thus the more important prospective heir to the Scottish crown—with the exception of the Lady Arabella, who was in England—was the King's cousin, Esmé Stuart, son of John Stuart, Lord of Aubigny in France; who was the third son of the third Earl of Lennox. Some time previously the Catholic agents of Mary had been proposing to make use of him; but in a letter to Beaton (the exiled Archbishop of Glasgow) of September 15th 1578, she advised them against it, both because she was uncertain of his loyalty to herself,

and because to assign him prominence might give umbrage to the friends of the Lady Arabella in England. The forfeiture of the Hamiltons naturally suggested a revival of the project; and, as early as May 15th, 1579, Bishop Leslie informed the Cardinal de Como that the King had written to summon him from France. Leslie may have been misinformed; but if the King summoned him, he may have been indirectly induced to do so. In any case his arrival, on some pretext or other, was inevitable. He landed at Leith on September 8th, his ostensible errand being to congratulate the King on his acceptance of the government, and to be present at his formal entry into Edinburgh. That his visit had not been suggested by Mary, we learn from her own letters. Previous to it she had endeavoured to open up direct communication with her son. On June 17th her secretary, Claude Nau, had arrived in Edinburgh with letters and gifts to be forwarded to him in Stirling; but as they were addressed to him merely as "Prince of Scotland," the Privy Council decided that they could not be received.

At a Stirling convention of August 7th, it was decided that the King should remove to Edinburgh about the end of September to be present at the Parliament summoned for October 20th. Thereafter elaborate arrangements were made for his safety during the journey, no one except his personal servants, and the retinues of the nobles in attendance on him, being allowed, unless unarmed, to approach within six miles of the royal cavalcade. His retinue, supplied by Morton, Angus, Argyll, Montrose, Mar, Lindsay, Ochiltree, the Master of Livingstone, and the Master of Seton, amounted to about 2,000 horsemen. After breaking his journey at Linlithgow, he set out next day for Holyrood, passing to it along the northern outskirts of Edinburgh, with cannon thundering from the castle, and from the ships at Leith. His formal state entry into the city was made at the West Port on October 17th after a four days visit to Morton at Dalkeith. The ceremonies and pageants were of the hackneyed allegorical type; but in addition to the conventional mixture of Classic paganism with Biblical history, there was a faint blend of Presbyterian ritual. At the West Port, where the magistrates received him under "a pompous

pall of purple velvet", he was confronted with King Solomon deciding the contention of the two women for the infant; after which he was presented with a sword for one hand and a sceptre for the other. At "the old port of the Strait Bow" (leading to the Castle), a "curious globe opened artificially," disclosing a "young boy," who presented to him the massive silver keys of the city, "Dame Music and her scholars" meanwhile singing the 20th Psalm, accompanied by viols. On a platform at the Old Tolbooth (the law courts) were four maidens representing the four cardinal virtues, each making an exhortation to his Majesty, after which the "Wheel of Fortune," was set fire to and consumed. Shortly thereafter he reached the "Great Kirk" (St. Giles's), when "Dame Religion" stepped forth and desired his presence within, where Mr. James Lawson made an oration upon Psalm II., 10, exhorting him to "enter a league and covenant with God." From these solemnities he was immediately introduced at the cross to an impersonation of the heathen Bacchus seated on a puncheon, in gaudy array and garlanded with flowers. This incarnation of jollity welcomed him to "his own town," with many bumpers of wine, and then superintended a general distribution of the liquor. On the Salt Market place, a little further down the High Street, stood a company of trumpeters "sounding melodiously, and crying with a loud voice, 'Welfare to the King.'" At the Nether Bow (the gate next Holyrood), was represented the conjunction of the planets at the King's nativity, Ptolomey himself being present to explain the happy influences thereby signified. Apart from the official pageantry there was also sufficient testimony of the joyful loyalty of the citizens, who spread the King's pathway with flowers, while the fronts of the houses "were all hung with magnifik tapestry, with painted histories, and with the effigies of noble men and women."

There were particular reasons why the sight of the King should have been such "ane great delight to the beholders." Since the last sad entry of his mother into Edinburgh after Carberry, no royal personage had been seen in its streets; and so strict was the seclusion of the King at Stirling, and so great the perils that continued to encompass him, that

not a few had perhaps begun to doubt whether the event they were now witnessing would ever happen at all. The enthusiasm of all the spectators was thus exceptionally high, although the loud unanimity of their welcome was inspired by sentiments having latent elements of strife. The character and aims of the boy were not fully disclosed; and Catholics and Protestants, Mortonites and Anti-Mortonites, clergy, nobles and burgesses, and all who had their own special axes to grind, deemed it possible that they might be specially favoured by the use of the royal grindstone.

The Parliament sat from October 20th until November 12th; and on February 15th the King returned to Stirling. To soothe the ruffled susceptibilities of the clergy various enactments had been made in their favour: an act was passed formally ratifying that of 1560, by declaring the "ministers of the blessed Evangel of Jesus Christ" to be the only "true and holie Kirk;" the Kirk's ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the "preaching of the true word, the correction of manners, and the administration of the sacraments," was renewed; heavy penalties were assigned to "non-observance of the Sabbath," and "wilful remaining from the Paroche Kirk;" all returning "beyond sea" were declared subject to a process of moral disinfection, by giving "confession of their Faith," according to the Protestant form; and all householders worth fifty pounds (Scots) in lands or goods were required to have a Bible and Psalm-book "in the vulgar tongue" for instructing their families. Nevertheless the old questions of Episcopacy and the relation of the Kirk to the civil power were left unsettled; and since the clergy resolved to proceed as if the whole matter had virtually been decided in their favour, the relations between them and the King—who at least on this point was resolved to follow Morton's advice—soon became strained. Instead of accepting meanwhile the almost nominal rule of the bishops, they sought to get rid of them by bringing them under the discipline of the presbyteries and synods; and as this was virtually to reverse the intentions of the civil authority, the King and Council had no option but to suspend their censures and excommunications.

According to Spottiswoode, the dissensions between the King and the

KING JAMES I. AND VI. AS A BOY.

From the Painting by F. Zuccaro in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Kirk led to a great influx into the country of Jesuits and priests and to the open profession by many of Catholicism. The opinion spread that once the King were delivered from Morton's influence, it would not be difficult to convert what was deemed his indifferent Protestantism into at least tolerance of Catholicism. Moreover, once there was free intercourse between the King and his mother, Morton's position, however highly the King might estimate his past services, was bound to be endangered. On September 5th, Mary, irritated at the refusal of the Council to permit the King to receive her message, addressed to him as "Prince," had been moved to entreat Elizabeth to deliver her son from Morton, since his life was not safe under him and "other murderers of his father and sworn enemies of his mother." And while the Catholics and Mary were contemplating the removal of Morton as the initial step to the success of their cause, the Kirk authorities were flattering themselves with the hope that it would end their difficulties as to Episcopacy and the Jurisdiction of the Kirk. They may or may not have realized that though a somewhat stingy friend, and by no means an exemplary adherent of the Kirk, he had during his regency been its main bulwark; but being apparently convinced that his protection was no longer essential, they were prepared to witness his overthrow with at least equanimity.

The main agent, though a partly hidden one, in the overthrow of Morton, was Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny; but how far he was acting, if not on his own initiative, merely for his own ends, how far at the instance, and for the sake, of the Catholics, is not quite easy to determine. He is described by Moysie as "a man of comlie proportioun, civile behaviour, read beardit, honest in conversatioun, weil lyket of be the King and a pairt of his nobilitie at the first." Lacking, as was afterwards to be proved, in the valour essential to cope with deadly peril, he was yet peculiarly audacious in secret intrigue. For this, one of his qualifications was a remarkably clever tact, which seems to have had its root partly in natural amiability; but when utilized for such political intrigues as those in which he was now involved, tact was bound to degenerate rapidly into

unscrupulous cunning: and the cunning of d'Aubigny became so complete that it possibly outwitted Catholics no less than Protestants. Still in his early manhood, but a thoroughly experienced citizen of the world—of the world from which, in his Protestant seclusion at Stirling, James had been almost shut out—he was certain to find rapid favour in his young kinsman's sight. Intercourse with a near relative was also to James an entirely new experience; and in his peculiar loneliness and peril, it is small wonder that he should have clung as he did to the protection and guidance of his cousin.

That d'Aubigny went to Scotland with the approval of the Duke of Guise is probable, but the fact that the forfeiture of the Hamiltons had made him next heir to the Scottish crown, was a sufficient reason for going on his own account. At a later date Mary wrote to Beaton that she had little correspondence with him, that he had gained his footing in Scotland half against her will, and that she had delayed his visit to it as much as she could. When she thus wrote, her project was to place "her son and her realm in the hands, and under the protection of the King of Spain;" and the Duke of Guise at least permitted her to believe that he approved of her decision. In any case, the only parties privy to this project were Mary, Guise, and Beaton: and indeed, when Mary proposed to have her son sounded regarding a marriage to a Spanish princess, she gave instructions that this should be concealed from d'Aubigny, who, she was persuaded, would, from self-interest, desire that the King should remain in Scotland. But she was quite willing, and even anxious, to utilize d'Aubigny for such preliminaries as the overthrow of Morton; and whatever d'Aubigny's final aims, the removal of Morton from his path was a prime necessity. By virtue of the Act of Parliament of October, d'Aubigny, being a Catholic, was debarred from remaining in Scotland for more than forty days. This, however, he meanwhile got over by purchasing a *supersedere* from being troubled for a year for religion; and although he did not, as it was supposed he would, send to France for his wife and children, it soon became plain that it was the King's wish he should remain in Scotland. On November 10th, he received the rich

abbacy of Arbroath, of which Lord John Hamilton had just been deprived; and on March 5th following he was made Earl of Lennox, the King's uncle resigning the title in his favour for that of Earl of March. The conferment of such favours and honours on a Catholic, and his increasing "familiarity" with the King, greatly alarmed the clergy, who, we are told, like "faithful watchmen," began to make "loud and timeous warning;" but Lennox was quite a match for the "true professors."

Already the King, dreading the loss of his cousin's companionship, had himself been setting about the work of his conversion; and he now informed the clergy that he "had obtained his consent for taking a minister into his house," who, the King hoped, would complete the process. For this purpose, Lennox, on March 10th, left Stirling for Edinburgh; and it need hardly be said, that James Lawson, who, on account of his knowledge of French, had been nominated for the task, was quite successful in it. Before returning to Stirling, Lennox, in the Kirk of Edinburgh, made a declaration of his faith before the provost and magistrates; and at Stirling he signed the *Confession of Faith* in the King's Kirk, at the same time promising to accept as private chaplain a Huguenot minister, which the King asked Bowes, the English ambassador, to obtain from him from London. Not only so, but on July 14th Lennox sent a letter to the General Assembly, in which, after rendering thanks to "Divine Majesty," for having been called to the "knowledge," of his "salvation," he made to them "a free and humble offer of due obedience," and professed his "readiness to procure and advance all other things that may further the Glory of God and the increase of his Kirk" — his aim, no doubt, being to convince the clergy that he would be much more squeezable than Morton; and on subsequent occasions he also renewed his declaration of "sincerity to the Protestant religion." If all this subscription and protestation was only aggravated perjury, he probably supposed it covered by the Papal dispensation. He always—without, of course, any dispensation from the Scottish Kirk authorities—represented himself to the Catholics as a merely sham Protestant; but it is hard to tell with which party he had

cast in his lot. He may have been, himself, uncertain on the point; and very likely he deemed the question of Catholicism and Protestantism very much one of tweedledum and tweedledee.

It was evident that the old conspirators against Morton would, now that Atholl was dead, sooner or later have recourse to Lennox. Though naturally jealous of the intrusion of a stranger into Scottish affairs, the relationship of Lennox to the King overbalanced this; and they were only too glad to accept such influential aid against the common enemy. Their earliest move against Morton was to spread the report that he had plotted to seize the King and carry him to Dalkeith and thence to England. Mary, as we learn from her letters, was apparently much in dread of such a possibility, but when this particular rumour was enquired into, no tangible evidence could be found to justify it. It was told by Argyll to the King, apparently in the hope that it would make him consent to be delivered from Mar's guardianship. That an attempt was made to induce him to escape during a hunting expedition at Doune, is proved by the King's statements to Bowes: it failed merely from the King's unwillingness. It was further affirmed that Lennox intended to smuggle him to Dumbarton and thence to France; and it so happened that at this very time Mary was proposing to secure the aid of Argyll and Lennox in order to send him to Spain; but even if the proposal had reached them before the Doune incident, it is unlikely that they would have assented to it, their aim being rather to make use of the King in Scotland. According to Calderwood, there was great bragging on the streets of Edinburgh about the matter between Morton and the Lennox faction; and although a nominal reconciliation was patched up between Morton and Argyll on April 20th, Morton was aware that Argyll was as much his enemy as ever, and that there was "a fast band between Lennox and Argyll that could not be undone."

If not undone, the band, Morton knew, would be fatal to himself—unless Elizabeth completely changed her policy. His hold on the King's favour depended on his supposed influence with Elizabeth, and Elizabeth had been so acting as to convince the King that nothing was to be had

from her, either through Morton or in any other way. Her refusal even to grant the King possession of his English estates was almost enough to make him lose all confidence in her good intentions, and to couple this with such a superfluity of warning and advice was simply to add insult to injury. Moreover Lennox and others were constantly with him "to point the moral and adorn the tale;" and since it was known that she had been scheming to get him under her own charge, there was some ground for the suspicion that her intentions towards him might be as sinister as they were towards his mother. Dread of the possibility of his removal to England seems to have been the main reason why the King became shy of Morton, especially when he found that meanwhile Elizabeth would do nothing for him. "Morton and many of them that are specially devoted to her Majestie," wrote Bowes to Walsingham, "do send me word that they werye and loke not for any seasonable resolucion from her Majestie; whereby they are exceedingly perplexed how to beare them selves in the dangers evident before their eyes." So wearied indeed was Morton, that he would have preferred to have "drawen himself in quietness." If, however, he had assurance of her support, he was prepared to take part "in any platt to be devised for thentertaynment of thamity and removinge of all impediments, wherein he would imploy himself and his forse"—although he was convinced that it would be far better to entertain "the King by some bountye, and chiefly by loane of such convenyent somes as her Majestie pleased to spare; whereby the King, the nobilitie and all the realme should be bounde to her Majestie for that liberality."

Of the soundness of this advice there could be no two opinions; but no consideration, however reasonable or even imperative, could make any impression on Elizabeth's parsimony and fickleness. The crisis, it is true, may not have been so urgent as Morton supposed. Though some ~~change~~ change in the old arrangement was meditated, no strong action against Morton seems to have been intended, meanwhile, except on urgent necessity. Lennox shrank from a violent struggle with him, and was by no means so partial as the Scottish nobles to open violence.

Although Mary was anxious to have the King sent to Spain, Lennox well knew that his own interests were more bound up with the King and Scotland than with Spain and Mary; and he would hardly be reconciled to Mary's scheme, unless himself driven to leave Scotland. Even action against Morton was precipitated only by Elizabeth's tactlessness, which finally culminated in an unseemly endeavour to concuss the King and the Privy Council. True, Lennox had to make his position secure; and though between him and Morton there were some pretended attempts at reconciliation, neither could have any real confidence in the other: goaded by Elizabeth's perversity, Morton told Bowes that he was being driven "to seek safetie by those meanes that in the end will not be profitable for either realmes," and that he had entered in "conference with Lennox for reconciliation and friendschipp;" but it was intimated that he "yet remayneth lookinge what will come from her Majestie." His aim was to hold Lennox in suspense as long as possible, and to quicken Elizabeth's resolution. Lennox, meanwhile, wished to allay Morton's suspicions; and Bowes was informed that a conference between him and Morton would actually have taken place during a visit of the King to Morton's house at Aberdour early in August—but for the fact that both were suffering from the effects of a surfeit. But the excuses suggest the novelist's "headache;" and the shyness of both to come to terms is confirmed by the fact that the deferred meeting never took place. Lennox desired merely to disarm suspicion until he got Dumbarton Castle into his hands. Though Lennox had a grant of it from the King, Drumwhassil, its keeper, bribed by Bowes, refused to give it up on the ground that the King was still a minor; but having, purposely or incautiously, ventured into Edinburgh, Lennox had him apprehended and brought him to terms. Lennox may have mainly desired to be prepared for emergencies; but Elizabeth—suddenly roused from lethargy to panic conviction that "some secret practice" stood "upon the pinch to be executed"—instructed Bowes to obtain an interview with the King and Privy Council; and, after demanding the exclusion of Lennox from the interview, to advise refusal of assent "to

the delivery of the said castle into the Earle, being by birth a Frenchman and in religion corrupt." Should Bowes be unable to stay its delivery, he was to confer with Morton "how this matter may be helped eyther by layeing violent hands" on Lennox, or in some other way, wherein he was to assure Morton of all possible assistance from her. But with Elizabeth repentance usually followed hard on hazardous decision; and the panic message was, next day, superseded by one forbidding any conference about the use of force. It was indeed only too plain how "uncertain" she was "in the course of" her "doings;" but to unite with uncertainty of action violent diplomacy, was merely to add the finishing touch to a very bad muddle. On the pain of her high displeasure, she required the King to renounce the friendship of his near kinsman Lennox—this even without permitting Lennox to face his accuser. Such a crude attempt to over-ride the King and Council of a proudly independent nation was foredoomed to failure, and worse. Lennox not only retained Dumbarton, but, with the title of Lord High Chamberlain, was appointed to the command of a new royal body guard of thirty gentlemen—the King being thus specially entrusted to his keeping. As Robert Melville assured Bowes, Elizabeth had merely "wounded the hart of the Kynge, and stirred Lenoux and his friendes both to dispare of her Majestie's favor towardes Lenoux, and also to arme them selves thereon for there most safetyes." Supreme opportunist as Lennox was, he may really have been anxious to come to terms with Elizabeth, for this was, meanwhile, the least dangerous course. But since Elizabeth, in high wrath, now ordered Bowes to leave Scotland, it became imperative on the King and Lennox to secure themselves permanently against danger from Morton. A last endeavour was made to allay her irritation by sending to her Alexander Hume "with certain articles;" and on his return in December with the message that they were unsatisfactory, Morton's doom became certain: in Elizabeth's own words, he was virtually "given over" by her, "as it were a prey to Lennox and his faction."

Since the renewal of his forfeiture in the previous year, Sir James

Balfour, who not only knew the inner secrets of the Darnley murder, but had only lately been declared by the King and Council "chiefly culpable" of it, had been meditating revenge on Morton. As early as April 2nd, 1580, Bowes knew that Lennox and others were seeking to procure from Balfour a document subscribed by Morton that would prove his assent to the murder. Before this, Balfour's statements had also aroused the curiosity of Mary, who, on March 18th, asked Beaton to procure a copy of the supposed band; and, on July 24th, she sent an indirect response to Balfour, which, from a letter of his to her, December 31st, must have contained encouragement to perseverance against Morton. In October, Bowes learned that there was "frequent and secret intelligence" between Balfour and Lennox. But Lennox was meanwhile undecided, and it was not until December 12th that Balfour arrived at Edinburgh. After his secret interview with the King and Lennox in Holyrood Palace, the King was induced to sanction the accusation of Morton in presence of the Privy Council; and this was finally done by the bold and ambitious Captain James Stewart, of the royal body-guard. The King may have desired to avoid it: as Froude suggests, the hint given to Morton on the 20th by Lord Robert Stewart to fly, may have come from the King; but since Morton scorned to do so, the King had no option but to give his assent to the accusation. In doing so, he was clearly influenced rather by political necessity than by any overwhelming desire to revenge his father's murder, for though he may have been unpleasantly startled by Balfour's assertions, he very well knew that if one more than another deserved punishment for Darnley's murder, it was Balfour himself. Nor did he even disdain, at a later period, to have dealings with Archibald Douglas.

In his denunciation of Morton, Stewart, according to Spottiswoode, asked him "how or why he did prefer Mr. Archibald Douglas, his cousin, to the place of a senator of the College of Justice, who was known to be an actor in the murder." This has been misunderstood. Archibald was not preferred during Morton's regency. He was made lord of session during the Regency of Moray; and, in 1572, he was deprived of that office

HENRY, LORD DARNLEY, AND HIS BROTHER CHARLES,

Father of Arabella Stewart.

From the Painting by Lucas de Heere in the Royal Collection at Holyrood Palace.

TIES BY THE SONES OF FERICHTE MONKABLES
HENRI OF LENOXE AND THE LADY MARGARETZ
GRACE CCVNTYES OF LENOXE AD A NYSE

AN DO
M-D-LXII

HENRY STEWARDE LORD DARNLEY
AND DOWGLAS, AETATIS SVAE X

CHARLES STEWARDE HIS
WIFE HER. AETATIS SVAE VI.



and actually imprisoned by Morton, for sending money to the Queen's party; indeed, in his letter to Mary, he asserts that he had received but injury from Morton's hands during the whole time of his government. He was not restored to his office until Morton had ceased to be regent, and wished to secure the united support of the Douglasses against his enemies.

On the advice of the King's advocate, it was resolved to commit Morton for trial; and, after being sent on January 2nd to ward in Edinburgh Castle, he was on the 18th transferred to Dumbarton. Such bold steps against Morton were rendered possible only by resentment at Elizabeth's dictatorial diplomacy. Any misgivings of the Kirk were adroitly allayed by the King's ostentatious subscription on January 20th, along with his court, of a "Second Confession of Faith," which, on March 22nd, his subjects of all ranks were also ordered by him to subscribe. Elizabeth's interference at this stage, except by a bold invasion of Scotland, was worse than useless; and besides she had no plausible excuse for interference, for she had been informed that Morton would have a fair trial. The continued postponement of the trial was perhaps suspicious; but this was due, she was informed, to the difficulty caused by the escape to England of Archibald Douglas. He was supposed to be the principal witness for, or against, Morton; and he was plausibly asserting his willingness to appear, provided he were not put to the torture. In his absence, Balfour, trained lawyer though he was, was puzzled how to find feasible grounds for a conviction. A good deal has been said of Balfour's "murder band." Tytler supposes that Balfour was actually to exhibit it with Morton's name attached; Froude affirms that "Balfour's evidence was read and accepted;" and Mr. Lang allows himself to be haunted by the notion of a murder-band signed by Morton. But if Balfour possessed the only known murder-band—that which Ormeston asserted Bothwell kept in a green box—he had two sufficient reasons for not producing it: it was signed by himself, and it was not signed by Morton. The only band alluded to by Balfour, and of which he sent a copy to Mary, was admittedly of a very inconclusive character. It was apparently that referred to by Archibald Douglas

in a letter to Mary—the general band of the nobles in support of Mary against her husband. In fact, because Morton denied that he was further committed against Darnley than that band committed him, Balfour despairing of a conviction, entreated Mary herself to supply him with any information that might help to implicate Morton. Nor, of course, could Balfour dare to confront Morton at the trial—even if Morton's accusers could have dared to make open use of him. Lurking in Edinburgh in secret, he was acting as the informal solicitor in getting up the case, and, among other services, was supplying witnesses to be tortured by the boot. Randolph informed the King in what house he lay—"between the church on the right hand as you go up to the castle,"—though, of course, Randolph's information was no news to the King.

Other charges, besides the murder, were included in Morton's indictment : trafficking with the Queen of England, the capture of Stirling Castle, conspiracies against Lennox, etc., but such charges might raise awkward questions ; and at the King's formal request the indictment was confined to the one original charge. The judges, notoriously hostile, found him "guilty of art and part of concealing of the King's father's murder;" and Morton before his death admitted a kind of foreknowledge. Nor from the account of the evidence in Foster's letter to Walsingham, would it appear that more was proved. Being earnestly pressed by Bothwell to undertake the murder, he asked him for the Queen's warrant : if "I had gotten," he says, "the queen's handwrite, and so had known her mind, I was purposed to have turned my back on Scotland." This has puzzled Mr. Lang, who objects that Morton yet "calmly assumed that he did know Mary's mind." Morton's position is however explained by the general band. He had been allowed to return to Scotland on condition of supporting Mary against her husband. If Mary interpreted this as including support in a conspiracy against her husband's life, then Morton purposed again to leave Scotland. Morton was concerned only with Mary's mind as regards himself; but he knew her mind was such that it would have been sheer folly to have denounced Bothwell to her; and had he sought to enlighten

Darnley, he would, as he affirmed, only have endangered his own life. He had not the peculiar and pressing reasons of Bothwell for getting rid of Darnley; and he declined to be made Bothwell's tool; but he had also no reasons for running tremendous risks on behalf of such a dangerous fool as Darnley, even though he was his kinsman. The foreknowledge of Morton had therefore no necessary connection with "art and part," for Bothwell's power was then supreme. The question for Morton was, could Bothwell be effectively denounced? And he came to the conclusion that, at that stage, he could not. To include Morton, without qualification, amongst the murderers of Darnley, is, therefore, neither good law nor flawless justice; though it may be conceded that in prosecuting the Queen his primary aim was as little to revenge the murder, as was—in seeking to rid the world of him—that of Lennox and the King. Neither in private nor public aims, was Morton ever too scrupulous as to means; but he was removed from the ruck of contemporary conspirators by the singular merit that his public aims were high and enlightened, and that he was capable of pursuing them without fear or favour.

By the death of Morton, Scottish politics became for a time the happy hunting ground of clever and ambitious intriguers; and although latterly the King was assisted by statesmen of some administrative talent, the last quarter of the sixteenth century was, both in Church and State, a period of mediocrities. Such great, if in some respects equivocal, figures, as Beaton, Knox, Moray, Maitland and Morton, had no immediate successors of the same rank. So long as Morton, the last of them remained, the general course of Scottish politics could be pretty certainly predicted: when he ceased to direct the helm, the Scottish ship of state—if not left wholly at the mercy of the winds and waves—was placed under very dubious guidance and began to skirt a very dangerous coast. With him away, Scotland and its young King became a still more exciting centre of European intrigue. To Philip of Spain and the Catholics, Scotland was mainly of consequence as a vantage ground against Elizabeth: and Elizabeth regarded Scottish events chiefly in their bearing on the maintenance

of her own sovereignty. From the time that the death of her half-sister Mary was announced to her under the tree at Hatfield, she was troubled with the fact that Mary Queen of Scots and her possible children had perhaps more plausible claims than she to the English throne; and with this skeleton in her closet, she was extremely sensitive as to the mention even of a successor. With the death of Morton, her anxiety as to the rival claims reached a very acute stage. It was realized that under the guidance of Lennox—whom she had determined, wisely or unwisely, to defy—the young King, should he lay claim to her title, might, with the aid of an influential marriage, become a more formidable adversary than his mother had been, and this for the following reasons : “First, because he shall be a younge man, in whom both the Kingdomes of England and Scotland shall seme to be knitt to avoyde all perills by uncerteynty of succession; Secondly, he shall have the comfort of all discontented persons in England, whereof the number is, at this day, farr greater than was in the beginning of the Queen’s raigne; Thirdly, the Scottish nation is at this day stronger in featz of armes than it was afore tyme, by reason of their exercise in civill warres at home, and their being abroad in the Lowe countries.”

Such was the seeming peril in which Elizabeth, by her scandalous treatment of Morton, had now placed herself; but how far the reality of the peril corresponded with its possibilities is another matter. Her jeopardy was bound to be modified by the varying terms on which her opponents stood to each other; and one naturally enquires how far it was lessened or increased by the improved relationships of Mary and her son. So long as James was under Morton’s guidance, no cordial feeling between mother and son was possible; but to Mary’s inexpressible relief and satisfaction, that great source of distrust between them was now removed. It was also generally understood that in consenting to the death of Morton, James had chiefly in view the vindication of his mother’s reputation; and although the verdict against Morton did not, as the Spanish ambassador Mendoza thought good to suppose, make him out to be “one of the principal actors” in the murder, the fact that so powerful and strenuous an accuser

of Mary, had suffered death for the crime, was accepted by many as a proof of her innocence. "It is seen," wrote Mendoza to Philip, "that his [the King's] only object was to establish the innocence of his mother of the groundless accusations brought by Morton and the English heretics against her." No sooner, indeed, had Mary learned of Morton's imprisonment, than she empowered the Duke of Guise to treat, in her name, under what conditions her son should be associated with her in the crown of Scotland. Yet the new cordiality was, on both sides, mainly on the surface; and in the end the thought of James was to be "bitterness to her that bare him." Each was more or less afraid and jealous of the other, for there had been no opportunities for the growth of mutual affection, and each, with characteristic Stewart tenacity, was determined to cling to sovereignty. Whatever she might seem to propose, the mother wished to retain all her sovereign prerogatives; and there was almost no sign that any consideration would tempt the son to part with even a portion of his. The mother's was of course the harder case, for her loss of sovereignty was a stigma on her; and her task was even harder than her case. She had to bring her son to her "devotion." Wisely, she put no trust in any possible germ of natural affection. That, she saw, had yet to be created, and could spring only from a sense of gratitude for anticipated favours. Her bribe was that by her help and that of the Catholics, he had the best chance of becoming King of England. But she sought, nevertheless, to forestall her son with Elizabeth, whom she laboured to persuade of her sincere endeavour to come to terms, and to whom she offered, both in her own and her son's name, an indissoluble alliance on condition that she obtained her liberty. As Morton had not then been brought to the block, her special aim may have been to stay Elizabeth's interference in his favour; but she continued also to work very cleverly the supposed alliance between her and her son, now to arouse Elizabeth's alarms, and now to win her trust.

Some time after Morton's death Mary sought to bring special pressure to bear both on her son and Elizabeth. On September 18th, after asking Beaton

to convey to Guise her thanks for having, at her instance, succeeded in suspending negotiations between the King of France and her son, until the question of his title was decided by her, she advised him to convey to her son, that no aid could be expected by him from France, except at the instance of his mother; and she also desired her old lover, George Douglas, whom James had employed as his ambassador to France, to show her son "that it will not be the best" that he should any longer dissemble his affection to her. Knowing also Elizabeth's desire to stand well with France, she informed her that she had learned from the King and Queen Mother of France of an overture made by her son on the subject of his title, and expressed her willingness, with Elizabeth's approval, to admit him on certain conditions to a share in the crown; but if Elizabeth refused all terms to her, she threatened to hand over to him not merely the crown of Scotland but all his other possible rights in England. The offer and threat were so far effectual that Elizabeth thought fit to send Beale, brother-in-law of Walsingham, to dissuade her against any "association" with her son, on vague promises of her own restoration, should she co-operate in the overthrow of Lennox and the restoration of the Hamiltons; but while Mary professed willingness, on condition of Elizabeth's favour, to "do anything in Scotland that her Majesty shall require for settling things," and affirmed that she was seeking for support neither from France nor Spain, she understood so perfectly the falseness of Elizabeth's advances, that she had no scruple in revealing the negotiation to the Spanish ambassador. He happened, however, to be no more favourable to the "association" project than Elizabeth, and actually advised Cecil against it—at the same time informing Mary that Elizabeth had represented to him that its prevention was as important to Philip as to Elizabeth, so that if Mary, "through another channel," came to know of it, she might understand that his supposed admission of Elizabeth's view was a mere diplomatic device. Though Philip wished to encourage Mary in her efforts to convert her son, he had no desire to see England and Scotland united under another crown than his own. But Mary was also practising her own par-

ticular deceptions with Spain. She was representing to Mendoza that the approaches for the "association" had been on the side of her son, and at his instance by the King and Queen Mother of France, whereas Mendoza—always doubtful of this version—learned later, for certain, that Mary herself was the real prompter in the matter.

To James it was a matter of some moment that France and Spain should recognise his title, and Elizabeth's treatment made him have regard to the possibility of other means than her favour for securing his rights in the succession; but even the Catholic nobles hesitated to advise his admission of the invalidity of his Scottish sovereignty by accepting joint-sovereignty as his mother's gift; and James himself was too sharp and self-sufficient to be caught by a hook so badly baited. Moreover, the "association" proposal was bound to remain in abeyance until James showed a more evident tendency to "conversion." In this enterprise Mary manifested keen interest; but the first definite scheme with this object was set on foot by Mendoza, and set on foot not in the interests of Mary or James or even of religion, but mainly, in Mendoza's words, to "cause this Queen" (Elizabeth) "more anxiety than anything else." By the Catholic authorities in London six Catholic noblemen in the north of England were approached, who undertook on the King's submission to the Catholic Church to co-operate with him in an effort to seize the English crown. Meanwhile, an emissary was sent to Scotland to discover the chances of the King's conversion and of the revival of Catholicism. His report [it has been conjectured that there were two separate emissaries, but it can be proved that there was only one], in some respects highly sanguine, was in reality of very dubious significance. Certain Scottish noblemen agreed to allow a number of priests and friars to enter the country provided "they brought money for their own maintenance," and even promised to manage quietly that they should preach before the King. With Lennox he found it advisable to be reticent as he "depends on France," and was "now avowedly schismatic;" but he was more open with Seton, who was to use his influence with the King, the best method of con-

verting whom was, Seton said, to show him it was the only means to become King of England. On receipt of the report Father Persons went to Paris to choose priests for Scotland and the emissary Watts returned to Scotland, with Father Holt, whence they reported to Mendoza that the King had assured them he would rather be Spanish than French. Shortly afterwards Holt returned to London to consult with Mendoza. He reported that Lennox and others had suggested four possible methods : either (1) to convert the King by persuasion, or (2) to "manage matters in the country so that they could cause him to be converted," or (3) to transport him, or (4) to depose him until Mary's arrival from England. Should the more violent methods be adopted they suggested that the Pope and Philip should aid them with 2,000 men. To keep up, as he said, the spirit of the Catholics, Mendoza, with more zeal than Philip approved, immediately sent Holt to Scotland with a Latin letter to be shown either to Seton or Lennox, assuring them of Philip's support should they resolve to carry out the business; though, knowing the exceeding caution of his master, he, to him, expressed dubiety as to the use of force. But it so happened that Holt found in Scotland Father William Crichton (a Scottish pensioner of Mary) specially commissioned from the Pope, instructed by the Duke of Guise, and with a letter of credence from Beaton, Mary's ambassador at Paris. Since Crichton had been commissioned to Lennox, Holt and Crichton had a joint interview with Lennox at Dalkeith, when they pointedly asked him what he proposed to do in behalf of the proposed enterprise. Brought thus suddenly to book, Lennox, on the understanding that the King would "be confirmed and maintained on his throne by his mother's consent," agreed to be a party to the enterprise on the following conditions : (1) that 20,000 men, with adequate war material and artillery, were landed in Scotland, (2) that money were sent to pay native troops, (3) that the King should have supreme command of the army, (4) that in his absence Lennox should control the troops of all nationalities, and (5) that if the attempt failed Lennox should be fully recompensed for the loss of his estates. On it being represented that "the demands were high," he replied that

they would be subject to modification by the Duke of Guise; but he at the same time informed Mary, not that he had proposed but, that it had been proposed to him, "that he should be the head of the said army," that he therefore intended to go to France to raise "some French infantry," and "receive the foreign troops," that he had been promised 15,000 men, and that all he asked of her was that her "son should still be acknowledged King." He also suggested that it was undesirable, meanwhile, to communicate anything regarding the promised foreign help either to the King or the Scottish Catholic lords, the ostensible reason for the proposed visit of Lennox to France being matters connected with his estates.

The demands of Lennox were high, indeed his air was almost arrogant; and however he might modify his terms, on three main points he was pretty certain to be immovable: (1) that he should have charge of the enterprise, (2) that the number of troops and the amount of money should be adequate, and (3) that, though Mary was to be freed, the sovereignty of James should not be endangered. Was he in earnest, or only seeking to back out by asking impossible terms? In any case, whether Protestant or Catholic, or neither, he was mainly influenced by private considerations, the only persons in the conspiracy who were single-minded and unselfish being the priests and friars. For his own sake, Lennox was bound to be more devoted to the interests of the young King than to those of Mary, who was even more of an embarrassment to him than she was to her son. The question of his seriousness in his apparently very bold policy must therefore turn a good deal on what view we may be able to take of his opinions as to his prospects, apart from it, in Scotland. Created Duke in 1581, and further enriched by a large portion of the escheated estates of Morton, including Dalkeith with its new and magnificent palace, Lennox now occupied a position in some respects greater than that of him he had overthrown: for in addition to enjoying the warm friendship of the King he was recognised as the second person of the Kingdom. But splendid as were his station and his possible prospects, his astounding double game made his *rôle* even more difficult and dangerous than that of his predecessor. Moreover, there

was a rival whose pretensions as second person in the Kingdom threatened his own. Captain James Stewart, the accuser of Morton, had, for this ignoble service, been created Earl of Arran, notwithstanding that the insane Earl of Arran was alive : it being contended that since the male descendants of the first Earl of Arran (by his third wife), were illegitimate, James Stewart, as descended from the only child of the first earl's first wife, was the head of the family. But if that were so, Stewart's claims to be second person were better than those of his old patron Lennox, and unless he could be squared he was bound to become one of the duke's sorest "thorns and cares." At the very first parliament at which the Duke figured, that of October 1581, he, on the ground that his house and not the Duke's was "nearest the King," protested against the Duke bearing the crown; and shortly afterwards the Privy Council became split in two, one for Arran meeting at Holyrood, and the other for the Duke and the King meeting at Dalkeith. After their quarrel Elizabeth entered into communication with Arran, who having had Knox for a brother-in-law, was supposed to be in the phrase of Mendoza "a great Puritan," and in favour of the English. Indeed Arran gave out that the quarrel was for "religion," affirming that the Duke was "a papist and therefore wished to secure the King's person and make him a papist too." This led Lennox to make, on December 3rd, a long declaration before the Privy Council as to his "sincerity to the Protestant religion." Arran's purpose was, himself, to have charge of the King's person; but at the instance of the King he was on February 1st deprived of the Captaincy of the Guard. Thereupon he craved license to leave the country for five years, and this not being granted, he retired in dudgeon to his family mansion at Kinneil. Some time, however, before March 12th, — about the time Lennox was holding his momentous conferences with the priests — Lennox and he were reconciled, the King acting as mediator. During the progress of the quarrel Arran had come into unpleasant relations with the Kirk. He had seduced the Countess of March, wife of Robert Stewart, formerly Earl of Lennox, who, before the fact was known, obtained on seemingly good grounds, a divorce from

her husband. She was married to Arran on July 4th, 1581; and on January 8th, 1582, she gave birth to a son which—if her reason for seeking divorce from the Earl of March was true—was the child presumably of Arran. On March 14th, therefore, both the Countess and Arran had, before baptism could be granted, to undergo the discipline of the Kirk. Arran—who was then deemed a sincere, if erring, disciple of Protestantism, though afterwards he was discerned to be, in the picturesque phraseology of the Protestant lords, “a godless Atheist, bloody Haman and seditious Cataline”—submitted with due deference to the ordeal; but the countess, a daughter of the late Catholic Earl of Atholl, was “so greeved” at having to submit to rebuke from the new ecclesiastics, “that through her greevous words he conceived some displeasure.” It was, indeed, hardly convenient that the parents of a child who—if his father’s pretensions were admitted—was a near heir to the throne of Scotland, should be disciplined for a previousness in the child’s birth; but they may have been partly consoled by the honour done them in the King riding out to Stirling to grace the baptism with his presence. After the reconciliation of Lennox, the Countess, to the great scandal of the clergy, resumed her position as chief lady of the Court. Under her auspices there was a revival of the gaiety of the good old Catholic times, including the fiddling and dancing which had provoked some of the more piquant diatribes of Knox against Mary Stuart. Yet if in several respects the Countess was “a fit match for such a spouse” as Arran, we are no more called upon to credit, without evidence, that she “perverted the King’s Majesty’s own youth by slanderous speech and countenance,” than that she was a special proficient in witchcraft, and one of the familiars of Satan. The real objection of the Reformed clergy to her was that having Catholic predilections she was supposed to have exercised a prejudicial influence on Arran, by enticing him to support the policy of the King and Lennox, in seeking to restrain the ambitions of the Kirk.

While Morton was lying a helpless prisoner in Dumbarton, the clergy had been making the most of the providential opportunity to advance their scheme of Protestant absolutism. From Lennox they had virtually a pledge

of devotion to their interests; and until Morton was in the hands of the executioner, it was of prime importance for the King and Lennox to keep on good terms with them. To the Assembly, which met at Glasgow on April 24th, the King had therefore sent a very soothing letter, giving them to entertain hopes that all "occasion of complaint" as to the disposal of the thirds of the benefices would be removed, that the jurisdiction question would be satisfactorily adjusted, and that on all administrative points of importance he was ready to follow their advice. He also sought to remove their Church government anxieties by a scheme for the division of the Kirk into presbyteries and dioceses. His compromising attitude only, however, strengthened their stubbornness. Without further consultation with him, they wholly condemned the "whole state of bishops as they are now in Scotland;" and while unctuously regretting that diverse attempts to induce the "magistrate" to give complete approval to the "Book of Policy" had "not takin the happie effect which good men would wishe," it was yet artfully resolved in order "that the posteritie may judge weill of the present age, and of the meaning of this Kirk," that "the Booke of Policie, agreed to in diverse Assembleis before, sall be registred in the Acts of Assemblie, and remain therein *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, and the copeis thereof to be takin by everie presbyterie."

The clergy were, however, to discover very soon that for their purpose it was not enough to be rid of Morton, and that from their point of view it was "absurd" enough "to commit the rains of government to the handes of a childe." At the Assembly in October, the King's missive was presented, appointing Robert Montgomerie, minister of Stirling, to the bishopric of Glasgow, the holder of the emoluments being Lennox who had appointed Montgomerie. Although no fault had up till then been found with Montgomerie's character or abilities, the Assembly at once trumped up against him a list of no less than sixteen ecclesiastical offences, as a reason for debarring him from an office which they would almost have prohibited him from holding had he been an angel from heaven. Immediately, therefore, there arose a hot contest for supremacy with the Privy Council, ending

necessarily in a drawn battle with unpleasant results to both parties. John Durie, minister of Edinburgh, who on the May 24th had denounced "the duke and Arran" as "abusers of the King," was, on May 30th, summoned to appear before the council at Dalkeith; and after narrowly escaping a bad assault from the Duke's domestic servants there, he was banished out of Edinburgh at the King's pleasure. To this the ecclesiastics replied on June 10th, by passing against Montgomerie the more formidable sentence of excommunication. At the opening of an extraordinary meeting of the Assembly on June 27th, Andrew Melville the Moderator, also "inveighed against the bloodie gullie of absolute authoritie whereby men intended"—for Melville was less watchful of his metaphors than of the misdoings of the "civil Magistrate"—"to pluck the crown off Christ's head and to wring the scepter out of his hand." The alarm raised by "Mr. Andrew," on behalf of Christ, quickly caught the "rascal multitude," so that although Lennox proposed—in defiance of the Kirk's threat—to entertain the excommunicated bishop in his house, Montgomerie on appearing in the streets of Edinburgh was expelled from the city with such contumely that the King on being told of it "lay down on the Inch of Perth," in an extasy of laughter.

In the end the dispute was to be disastrous to Lennox; but the point which now concerns us, is that when the two priests had their interview with him, he had greatly lost ground with the Protestants; and although Arran was with him in the dispute, he knew that in the long run he would have to reckon also with Arran. Could he have counted on the friendship of Elizabeth, his position would have been pretty secure, and his prospects perhaps adequate to his ambition, but without her friendship he was bound to trust mainly to the Catholics. As for the King—yet a mere boy—he was but clay in the hands of Lennox the potter. He knew something of the scheme that was afoot, and although a convinced Protestant—as he indeed supposed Lennox to be—he had probably in his first interview with Watts, expressed himself as favourable to Catholic toleration; and the priests were sanguine that the new circumstances would have their influence on his creed. But perhaps neither Lennox nor the

King had at first a more definite aim than to keep on good terms with the Catholics; and to Lennox the urgency of the delegates was probably more embarrassing than helpful. Doubtless he wished to continue as long as he could his game of "facing both ways;" but when asked to give definite support to a Catholic scheme, he cleverly resolved to "go one better." If his proposals were those of a schemer, a little distracted by the crumbling away of his effects, they were those of the schemer not yet at the end of his resources. Since the priests set so high a value on his co-operation, he stipulated for recognition as leader, and for full compensation for possible losses. His further stipulation that James should be recognised as King was doubtless also largely prompted by self-interest, though his steady loyalty to his youthful relative is one of the redeeming features in a career that was in many ways dastardly. Of his innate dastardliness we have a glimpse in the proposal to leave Scotland in order to organize the expedition—the risks of waiting on the arrival of foreign help being clearly more than he could face.

It is customary to ridicule this invasion scheme as a visionary dream of fanatic priests; but although Mendoza laid the blame of it on "an absurd promise given by Father Crichton" of 15,000 men, not only had the Pope evinced "a desire to aid" the "scheme effectually," but Mendoza had distinctly given Holt a mandate to promise armed support, and was evidently in favour of immediate action could Philip's sanction be obtained. Nor with adequate support was there anything quixotic in the scheme; and if the priests counted their chickens prematurely, they were led to do so by Mendoza. When Mendoza found that Crichton and Holt, on the strength of his general assurances, had carried the matter further than he could induce Philip to approve, he wrote to his master that Crichton had changed his (Mendoza's) "mode of procedure;" and yet, all the while, he was seeking to keep a hold on Lennox by endeavouring to "inflame him with the glory and grandeur which he may gain by the enterprise." This double policy met with Philip's full approval; he wrote, "It is all entirely in accordance with my wishes," and also urged

PHILIP II. OF SPAIN.

From the Painting by Antonio More in the Collection of Viscount Dillon at Ditchley, Enstone,
Oxfordshire.



them, meanwhile to "win souls by conviction, and so strengthen the Catholic party when the due time arrives"—the due time being that which might suit Philip. As for Mary, she did not wish to be mixed up with an unsuccessful movement; knowing Philip as she did, she would hardly credit his readiness to implement the definite promises of the priests; she did not trust Lennox; she was by no means certain that she could fully trust the purposes of Guise; and she wished a definite agreement in regard to the "association;" but an enterprise on her own terms, aided by the Pope and Philip, and adequately supported in Scotland, was, she said, "extremely desirable."

Extremely desirable the enterprise may have been; but the veto upon any immediate use of force was fatal to it; and the folly of a merely waiting policy was soon manifest. Before Crichton set out for Scotland, both the intention of sending him and the object of his mission were already well known there; and the arrival of "Seigneur Paul" on May 10th with a present of horses from Guise to the King greatly quickened the popular suspicion. On June 1st the laird of Carmichael reported to Walsingham that there was trafficking between Lennox and Philip, and that there was "general hatred of the duke;" and on July 27th Bothwell arrived in Scotland with information that Lennox was in communication with Guise regarding a force to "occupy the strengths of Scotland." Added to all these vague suspicions, the dispute between the King and the Kirk now reached a crisis. On June 27th the Assembly resolved to present to the King a list of grievances, affirming that without redress of them the Kirk of God and true religion can in no wise stand, and continue in this your Grace's country;" and although, in reply to this, "open proclamation" was made on July 12th that all the rumours that the Duke was a counsellor "of the erection of Papistrie, and abolishing of the true religion," were "malicious falsehoods," the proclamation in no way allayed the public misgiving. Already Mendoza and Mary were finding it hard to detain Lennox in Scotland; and on August 14th Mendoza wrote of Lennox to Philip that "his fear at feeling himself at constant struggle and daily in

the presence of death" was reducing him to "a deplorable condition." Mere despair was however, almost nerving him for something desperate. On August 6th he proclaimed a chamberlain air to be held in Edinburgh on the 27th for the trial "of sundrie of the brethren in Glasgow," his intention being, it is said, to have seized Edinburgh by a strong Border force, and according to information sent to Bowes, to have got Glencairn, Mar, Boyd and Lindsay committed to ward. True or false, the rumour of his intention caused the Protestant lords to anticipate his possible action. The King, who had been hunting in Atholl, stayed a night on his way south at Ruthven Castle, the seat of Gowrie, in whom—on account of his supposed alliance with Arran—he had perfect confidence. With Gowrie's connivance it was surrounded by Mar, the Master of Glamis and others, who proposed to take the King into their own keeping. Arran, hurrying from his house of Kinneil, evaded a force that lay in wait for him under Mar, and supposing himself assured of Gowrie's friendship, presented himself at the castle to crave admission to the King, but was locked up a prisoner. Next day the lords desired the King in all humility to retire where his "person might be surely preserved" from the evil intentions of Lennox and Arran. Without demur the King then accompanied them to Perth; but it was only with difficulty, that, according to Calderwood, they induced him on August 28th "to issue a proclamation that he was remaining with them of his own free will." They then ventured on the 30th to bring him to Stirling; but when on the morrow he made as if he would "go out for a ride" notwithstanding their objections, the Master of Glamis "laid his leg before him." The King then burst into tears of vexation, whereupon the hardy Glamis remarked "It is no matter of his tears : better that barnis should weep than bearded men."

Meanwhile Lennox had on the 25th been endeavouring to persuade the Magistrates of Edinburgh to organize measures for the King's rescue, but after James Lawson had next day, Sunday, "pointed out the Duke's enormities," he found that the citizens would not even allow armed men to be brought into the city. On the publication of the proclamation

of the King's freedom, he sent Herries and others to confer with him; but they returned without result except a message for the Duke to leave the country within fourteen days. In a situation so difficult the King's powers of dissimulation were severely tested, though the extent of his insincerity may be overrated. His mother by insisting on the "association" and by her strenuous efforts to convert the precocious theologian, had not merely nipped in the bud the possible flower of filial affection, but had caused him to regard her misfortunes with increasing indifference. Nor is it possible to tell how much he knew of the proposed enterprise—real or sham—of Lennox. But at any rate the loss of Lennox was a very hard blow to him; and Lennox knew this too well to interpret his command to leave the country literally, even if very shame, or dread of incurring Catholic distrust, had not prevented him returning to France, except on absolute necessity. On September 6th he left Edinburgh on pretence of returning to Dalkeith, but at the Boroughmuir turned westwards to Glasgow and proceeded to Dumbarton. He had however little stomach for any dangerous enterprise. "He sheweth himself," wrote Bowes, "so farre appaled and caste downe as there appeareth in him little courage or resolution, and his neare friends and household servants begyn to contempyne him." Rapid and energetic action might have saved him; hesitation necessarily implied defeat. As soon the King, on the representation of Elizabeth agreed to issue (which he did on September 28th) "a relaxation of the Earl of Angus," the case of Lennox began to be hopeless. Angus and the Douglasses were not only a great accession of strength to the insurgents, but they were bound to bring Lennox to account for Morton's death. Angus, it is true, had given a pledge not to pursue Lennox; but pledges given under compulsion were not held by the Scottish nobles of much account. Lennox, however, still remained and did nothing. As fearful of Mendoza's and Mary's wrath as of the hostility of the insurgents, he continued to linger on in the remote west of Scotland, on the pretence at least of endeavouring to organize a rescue, and in the vague hope of something turning up. After postponing his departure on various excuses,

he arrived on November 13th at Callendar whence he proceeded to Blackness. There he awaited two results: the application by the King to Elizabeth for a passport for him to go to France through England, and the fortune of a plot to seize the King in Holyrood palace. The premature divulgence of the plot rendered it dangerous, however, even for the King, that he should prolong his stay; and having procured his passport he, in obedience to the King's pressing representations, finally, on December 20th, took his journey south. At the King's request he was granted an interview with Elizabeth, when he posed, as indeed to her he had always done, as a sincere friend of the English alliance. This required recourse to several astounding falsehoods, but they did not cost him a thought. He denied not merely that he was an agent of Guise, or opposed to Scottish Protestantism, except in his preference for Episcopacy as in England, but even that he had ever conferred with the Jesuits, or so much as listened to any proposal against Elizabeth. As also his aim all along had been to maintain the English alliance, so, he assured Elizabeth, all his endeavours in the future would be devoted to the same laudable purpose. In some degree he may have been sincere in the expression of his preferences; but he had still to go on playing his double game, and he therefore found it needful to instruct his secretary to inform Mendoza of the substance of his interview with Elizabeth, and that, in order to further his return to Scotland, he intended in France to pose publicly as a Protestant.

Apart from his separation from Lennox, James naturally felt very deeply the violence done by the conspirators to his royal prerogatives: indeed he could hardly deem his life quite secure in their hands, although there is no evidence for Mendoza's supposition that Huntingdon—a claimant for the English succession—was, through Angus at the bottom of the plot; and that the intention of it was both to "kill or poison the King, and to put his mother out of the way." This is scarce credible. The Scottish lords had no desire to destroy, for ever and aye, the Scottish succession to the English throne. Still, the King was aware that his safest course was, meanwhile, to be as complaisant as he could. Changing his tune even to

the Kirk authorities, he made no objection to confer with them on the dangers of the State, and even, it is said "confessed that the religioun within his realme was in perrell, and an indirect course runne to the detriment thereof, wherewith his owne perrell was joyned;" he allowed them to remove, by a gross perversion of justice, what they termed the "great slander and offence," arising from the "impunitie of bishops;" and did not even oppose any of a long list of articles which virtually provided for the complete supremacy of the Kirk in civil as well as ecclesiastical matters. Still he was not prepared practically to place himself wholly under their yoke. Naturally the arrival in January 1583 of the French ambassador, La Mothe-Fénelon, and the arrangement for the presence of a representative of the French King at the Scottish Court caused them much misgiving. James could not but be gratified that his sovereignty, without the "association," had at last been recognised by France; but the clergy with the one dread of Catholic domination before them, thought fit to admonish him to beware of the ambassador's intentions. He thanked them and said that he would "only use common courtesie," adding however that the ambassador "would not meddle with religion, or if he did, he would soon be answered." This hardly satisfied his admonishers, but it reminded one of them, John Davidson, that they had at least charge of the King's morals. Staying behind the others, he, therefore, took the liberty of admonishing the King of his "often swearing and taking the name of God in vane." "I thank you," said the King with a little laughter. Moreover since the King persisted in using to the French ambassador "common courtesie," and would not permit the clergy to veto a banquet, which, according to usual custom, he proposed to give to La Mothe on his departure, they actually endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to make it an ecclesiastical offence to attend it, by proclaiming a fast on the same day.

The new deferential attitude of James towards the Kirk was mostly feigned; but in supporting a more cordial understanding with Elizabeth he was probably sincere. Clearly it was his own interest rather to seek alliance with her than to join the Catholics in a crusade against her.

This latter method of making good his succession to the English throne was at the best precarious, and was hardly possible without sacrificing his theological reputation. And this view of his attitude seems confirmed by the endeavours of Lennox to gain Elizabeth's favour. Having perhaps no religious prepossessions, Lennox was more free than James to adopt any political cause that would best advance his own interests. Apparently he supposed they would be better served under James than under Mary; and perhaps he, in addition, hoped to strengthen his interests in England by the marriage, as was afterwards proposed by James, of his son to Arabella Stuart. We must suppose that he had not fathomed Elizabeth's statecraft, if he deemed it possible for James to drive a definite bargain with her in regard to the succession; but such an arrangement would probably have suited him equally well with James. True, he had informed Mendoza that he had intended to make use of Elizabeth merely to secure his return, and Mary also at a later period learned that Guise was persisting in his determination to land in England and was hurrying the return of Lennox to Scotland; but since Lennox was not to be allowed to return with troops, he was deprived both of the incentive and the means to co-operate in what was after all a very problematical enterprise. And if he was to return through Elizabeth's mediation, she would certainly require very cogent proof of his devotion to her interests. This proof he was apparently ready to give by betraying the Catholic plots. Elizabeth thought his offers might be sincere; but the sequel shows that even had she secured his return, it would only have been for her own temporary purposes, which were incompatible with any definite bargain involving full security for his future. Still, his sudden death while negotiations with her were yet proceeding is rather disappointing to the student of human nature, for it leaves his character and aims more enigmatical than they might have become, though the fact that he elected to die a professed Protestant points to the conclusion that he deemed the best chance, both for his own family and for James, to be an alliance with the Protestants and Elizabeth.

The overtures of Lennox tended to allay Elizabeth's anxieties, for he was

one of the main agents in the projected enterprise against her; and it thus became less needful for her to propitiate James. Her apprehensions were still further allayed by the capture in March of Father Holt, in Scotland, whose confessions on the rack promised—until James permitted his escape—to expose the main secrets of the conspiracy. When, on placing before James certain offers of his mother for her liberty, she further appeared to discover that his interest in Mary's fortunes was of the mildest kind, and that he was peculiarly averse to any "association" with her in the sovereignty, she was still further relieved of anxiety as to his actually joining a Catholic conspiracy. It was thus almost a foregone conclusion that the Scottish commissioners, John Colville and Colonel Stewart, who set out for London about the end of April, should fail in arranging terms with her. Colville represented mainly the Ruthven raiders, while Stewart not only enjoyed the special confidence of the King and Arran, but was also in the pay of the French ambassador in Scotland. In the background there was the scheme of Stewart and James for a rescue. All the while also Lennox was scheming through Elizabeth for his return to Scotland, and Stewart may even have had private instructions from James to further this. But we must believe that James was acting in good faith in supporting the proposals for an alliance with Elizabeth; for if she granted his terms he had no reason for meddling in intrigues against her. As in the time of Morton his demands were (1) possession of the Lennox estates in England, or in lieu thereof a grant of £5,000 a year with £1,000 down to meet his immediate necessities, and (2) some definite assurance in regard to the English succession. In return he was prepared to accept her advice on his marriage and to be influenced by her opinion in his politics, and he was also ready to ratify the treaty of Leith acknowledging Elizabeth's right to the English crown. As regards the first demand, Elizabeth proposed to defer an answer, on the plea that an enquiry was being held as to the right of aliens to inherit. That no definite agreement or hope of agreement was arrived at was no fault of the commissioners; for Elizabeth, in the teeth of the counsel of her own advisers, preferred, as before, to follow a policy of mere "drift."

The news of the death of Lennox and the failure of the English embassy reached James almost simultaneously, and hastened his determination to be quit of his present self-chosen guardians. On May 20th, having obtained permission to "take a progress in the country," he set out by Linlithgow and Stirling to Falkland; and shortly after the arrival of Colonel Stewart there the plot for the rescue was resumed. Letters were accordingly sent to Argyll, Crawford, Huntly, Montrose and other lords to attend the convention at St. Andrews for the consideration of the English negotiations, and this having been arranged, James, with greater impatience than his secret advisers approved, stole out of the palace yard, on June 27th, by a back entrance, accompanied, among others, by Colonel Stewart and Sir James Melville, and rode to Dairsie, having previously arranged with his uncle the Earl of March, to meet him there. On seeing his uncle he manifested great joy, thinking himself, Melville states, now "far enough" from his captors. Yet, but for Melville's wariness, he would very soon have been again in their hands. Not only had the summoned lords not yet arrived in St. Andrews, but the citizens were not to be trusted; and the King, who would have preferred to have "taken his ease" in "the auld inn," was only induced late at night to seek refuge in the castle, tenanted by Bishop Adamson. Even there he was next morning all but surprised, many armed men of the lords' party having gained access; but immediately thereafter dependents of March, and some Fifeshire gentlemen and others at the provost's devotion obtained entrance; and since Gowrie now came to terms with the King, danger was practically over. Angus and Bothwell who had hastened to collect some followers with the purpose of entering the city, were, before they came within six miles of it, met by a herald forbidding them, on pain of high treason, to proceed further except unattended. On July 2nd a declaration was issued, stating that certain noblemen and others had been chosen to remain with the King for consultation regarding the present important affairs of state, while the "remanent of his nobilitie and counsale" were licensed and permitted to return home until the King had new reason to request their

presence; and on next day an order was issued forbidding any earl, lord, baron, knight or gentleman to approach within six miles of the King, with more than a specified number of attendants and those not in armour. To Bowes the King represented that his only "aim was to draw the nobility into unity and concord, and to be known to be (as he termed it) "an universal King." These professions were not wholly insincere; and he also wished even yet that Elizabeth should come to reasonable terms, as is shown by a letter which Melville drafted for him. Nevertheless Colonel Stewart hinted to Bowes that Elizabeth's proposal of a yearly pension of 10,000 crowns to the King was not likely to extort much gratitude. She had in fact put him again in such a position that he was entirely free to follow his own course, without any regard to her interests.

On July 10th James, fondly enamoured of his newly-found independence, and without the faintest distrust of his fitness for the duties of a fully-fledged sovereign, returned with his new set of satellites to Falkland. Here he was visited by the inevitable deputation from the Kirk, sent to "admonish him to beware of innovations in court;" but remonstrance and cajolery alike failed to induce him to admit their right to interfere; and when they reminded him that none in chief authority "ever prospered after the ministers began to threaten him," he only "smiled headfullie." On the 26th he passed to Perth to attend a convention. There on the 27th a declaration was issued "of the truth and loyalty" of the late Duke of Lennox; and on the 30th another that the King had now taken "unto himself his awin place and state," and that it was his will that bypast offences against him should be buried in oblivion. But very soon it became manifest that his hope to be a "universal sovereign," could not as yet be realized. As soon as he was nominally independent, he showed his old tendency to be ruled by favourites. Occupying most of his attention in hunting and other pastimes, he now left the administration of affairs mainly in the hands of Melville and Arran; and Arran, according to Melville, soon took no advice but Arran's own. That Arran should recommend severity against the Ruthven raiders was inevitable, while Arran's return

to power was sufficient to make them distrustful of the King's intentions. They had been ordered to appear before the King and crave pardon. Gowrie, through Arran, had been able to make his peace with him; but the others fared not so well. The Commendator of Dunfermline after being sent to Lochleven, had to find caution to remain within six miles of Dunfermline; Douglas of Lochleven had meanwhile been confined in the Castle of Inverness; Mar, on Argyll's mediation received favourably at first, was deprived of Stirling Castle, which was transferred to Arran, after which he was committed to Argyll's keeping until he should leave the country: the Master of Glamis, charged to enter Dumbarton within three days, made his escape to Ireland; and Angus was ordered to convey himself north of the Spey. On September 27th the King still declared that he had no desire to call to mind "the said public attemptat," and that "the order laily issued aganis onie particular personis hes been only for trying of certaine privie and particular attemptis;" but on October 30th an order was issued that all concerned in the raid should solicit pardon in regular form before December 1st. At the instance of certain of the clergy, a license was also granted them to act as mediators between the raiders and the King; but as none of the raiders had any inclination to come to terms with Arran, it proved of no effect; and on December 1st the King, with advice of the estates, pronounced the raid to have been a crime of lese majesty, and the former act of October 19th, 1582, declaring it to be "gude, aufauld, trew, thankfull and necessar service", etc., was ordered to be deleted from the records.

Another result of the failure of the Scottish mission to England, was that James deemed it essential to maintain as friendly relations as possible with France. Here he must have felt keenly the loss of Lennox, who, for whatever reason, had always championed his cause with the Catholic powers. So long as Lennox was at his right hand, they did not despair of his conversion, or at least of the possibility of utilizing him in some way. But after the death of Lennox, Mainville the French ambassador at the Scottish court, who had been acting as the agent of

Guise in the projected enterprise, returned to France in June with the report that Scotland was not then in a "fit state" for it, the King being "the same as before with regard to religion; and being in the hands of the English faction." Mainville, on hearing of the death of Lennox, despaired of the deliverance of James from that faction, but the cleverness of James in turning the tables on the raiders, not only greatly heightened the estimate of his talents and force of character, but the hopes of his ultimate conversion. On his part, James, fully aware of the enterprise on foot for the deliverance of his mother, was anxious as to its results, should it succeed, on his own position; and its success, be it remembered, was by no means impossible.

The cold selfishness — where his main interests were concerned — of a such a mere youth and his precocious mastery in deceit are repulsive enough; but allowance should be made for his peculiar past, and for the extreme difficulty and peril of his situation. Nor is it edifying in a case where there was deceit all round, to single out for special arraignment the young and almost helpless King: indeed Elizabeth has prior claims for denunciation, since she was the real cause of the crooked policy he was forced to pursue. Until the results of the embassy to England were known, he had been keeping hold of the threads of the foreign conspiracy; and the most powerful nobles by whom he was now surrounded had been, with the exception of Arran, in communication with the agents of Guise. He had also retained some one with whom he kept up secret communication with Mainville; and after his escape from St. Andrews he professed to be very anxious for Mainville's return. To one of various articles of remonstrance of the Assembly, in October, he very justly replied that they had no right to be "over curious," of "the intelligence betwixt his Hienesse and anie forraine countries for interteaning of civill peace and amitie:" but indeed he had hardly other choice, if he was to maintain his hard-won independence, than to seem favourably inclined to assist in an enterprise against Elizabeth. Shortly after his escape he had written Mainville that unless he were helped, he could not maintain the liberty

he had "almost miraculously gained." Here his main reference may have been to pecuniary aid to pay a guard: in regard to the conspiracy he seems to have adopted a cordial yet cautious attitude. In reply to the congratulations of Guise he, on August 19th, expressed himself as desirous of accepting his offers of co-operation in liberating his mother — not however, it would appear, at once, but "when the state of his affairs would allow him to do so;" the "fair conceit" Guise reported that Mainville entertained of him, he, however, unblushingly confessed to be correct, but courteously suggested that his "virtues and rare qualities" were greatly traceable to his Lorraine ancestry; and he expressed the hope that, by the aid and counsel of Guise and others, he would attain to greater "maturity and perfection." The letter, though exceedingly friendly, is almost patronising, and no excessive enthusiasm is manifested for the proposals of Guise. When, later, he saw that Guise was determined to press forward, he was at least desirous that he should have the chief share in the success of the enterprise, should it be successful. He would also be more anxious to express his zeal, if he knew that Spain was strong for leaving both him and Scotland out of it. On November 15th De Tassis advised Philip against utilizing him, and on April 18th, 1584, while advising that James might, if he declared himself a Catholic, even lead the army in person and enter England with it, he adds it "will be well to keep all eyes fixed on the mother, in order that she might be sought out and made mistress of the empire which is to be won, and not allow any other idea to be entertained while she is alive." Latterly James had been almost pleading for the enterprise. On February 19th, 1583-4 he wrote to Guise that the strength of his enemies was "growing daily," and that he could not "resist for long without the aid of God and my good friends and allies;" and on the same date he even appealed to the Pope, stating that those who had "banished his mother," were "banding themselves against him with aid of the Queen of England." "Under such a blow as this," so he wrote, "I can only look for aid and succour to the prudence and the affection you bear towards our very

dear mother, although I myself have hitherto deserved nothing at your hands;" and he further adds "I hope to be able to satisfy your Holiness on all other points, especially if I am aided in my great need by your Holiness." Since, owing to the supineness or ulterior purposes of Philip, or his jealousy of France, the great undertaking against Elizabeth was not attempted until the death of Mary, and under very changed conditions, we have no means of knowing how James would have satisfied the Pope, but the letter shows that he had at least no intention of becoming a Catholic prematurely.

For keen anxiety regarding his position in Scotland James had good cause. His inability either to lay hands on the raiders or induce them to come to terms left an admirable opening for Elizabeth's intrigues. On his escape from the Protestant lords she protested against the breach of agreement which she had provoked; but Bowes saw that James was "so fast bound to the lords with him, as with his will he cannot be withdrawn." James expressed, indeed, his willingness to let bygones be bygones with the raiders, provided they manifested a like disposition; but Elizabeth's mere protests, without pledges, were bound to be less effective than ever. It is not therefore surprising that Walsingham, sent at this juncture as a special ambassador to Scotland, "never undertook any service with so ill a will in his life;" nor that, when he arrived there, he found there was "little good to be done." Not being able to do much good, he sought to do as much evil as possible; and while well aware that Elizabeth had only herself to thank for what he was pleased to term the young King's "ingratitude," he resolved, before leaving, to "devise some plan by which the King may be compelled to depend on her favour and goodness whether he will or no." The recall of Bowes, after the return of Walsingham, so far disquieted James that he made "great assurances" to be altogether at Elizabeth's "devotion," and expressed his desire "to do everything to her liking and contentation." He was in fact as emphatic and general in his expression of good will as she was; but the dispatch in November of Lord Seton on a special mission to France and the arrival in Scotland in the same month of the young Duke of Lennox could not be deemed symptomatic of any English bias on his part.

Though the curtain has not been fully lifted from Walsingham's intrigues in Scotland, we must believe that he made the most of his opportunity for setting in train the charge that was to explode in such a spluttering fashion in April. The strict watch exercised over the clergy tended to mar the plot. On December 19th John Durie, for having said that the Ruthven raid had "brought forth some good effects," was — though he recanted — ordered to cross the Tay and remain in Montrose; and on the Presbytery of Edinburgh petitioning that he might be permitted to return the King replied that their request "tended to sedition." Even the redoubtable Andrew Melville — for more than broadly hinting that James was beginning to forget that "God made Kings" — was ordered to stand his trial before the civil court for treason, and declining its jurisdiction he was ordered into Blackness, whereupon he fled to Berwick. Meanwhile, various devices against the King, encouraged by Elizabeth, had been tried but had miscarried. In December Angus proposed to seize him "in the fields," but information of his purpose was conveyed to the King; and Gowrie had about this time vainly incited Mar to initiate a conspiracy. One difficulty was, as usual, Elizabeth's hedging; and moreover her proposal for the return of the Hamiltons was far from acceptable to Mar and others. The movements of the insurgents being therefore dilatory and ill-adjusted, could easily be frustrated before their arrangements were complete.

So alarmed were the King and court at rumours of intended machinations, that strong relays of gentlemen were kept in attendance at the palace, and the town of Edinburgh "watched quarterly every night." On March 2nd Gowrie was charged to pass out of Scotland, England and Ireland; on the 29th all friends of Angus, Mar and Glamis were expelled the city; and early in April James even empowered Lord Seton to ask the King of France for succour in money and forces, and proposed the establishment of the old alliance. But events soon showed that the immediate danger had been over-estimated. Gowrie, who had gone to Dundee, "pretending to take ship," but who was in reality waiting on the first movement of Mar, was suddenly on April 13th taken prisoner

by Colonel Stewart after some resistance. The purpose of the insurgents had been to rendezvous at Stirling, where they proposed to subscribe a band to concur for the deliverance of the King. With this view Mar and Glammis on the 17th easily obtained possession of Stirling Castle; but their action was paralysed by the news of Gowrie's arrest, which immediately caused not merely the followers of Gowrie but all the Perthshire clans to hold aloof. Angus also, on his journey south from the Spey, was unable to persuade the gentlemen of Forfarshire to join him, and entered Stirling with only a few personal attendants. Nevertheless on the 24th he issued a proclamation requiring "all and sundrie" to "fortify and assist this so godlie and necessar an enterprise;" but the King's energetic vigilance did not permit the movement to gather momentum. Suspected noblemen and gentlemen in Lothian and the south of Scotland were confined or warded; on the 19th all communication with the insurgent lords was forbidden; and before the King on the 25th set out in high pride and spirits towards Stirling with a force of some 20,000 in foot and horse, the insurgents, leaving a small force to defend the castle, fled south. An order was issued for their pursuit and capture; but after a counterfeit attempt at this by Bothwell they reached Berwick, whence they sent a petition to Elizabeth to be allowed to lie quiet in England. On May 4th James sent her a request for their surrender, but her only reply was that had he followed her advice, the disorder in his realm would have been avoided. Meanwhile after his splendid parade to Stirling James found only a small garrison in the castle which surrendered at the first summons. Next day Gowrie was brought from Kinneil to Stirling, where he was beheaded on May 2nd.

By the despicable collapse of the conspiracy the prospects of Arran and the King underwent a sudden transformation. For the time being their opponents were so discouraged, that the King found himself in a position of greater strength and security than he had been since the death of Morton. So greatly perturbed were the clergy, that the Assembly at St. Andrews on the 24th was but sparsely attended, and when the

King sent to demand not merely a retractation of their approval of the Ruthven raid but the excommunication of the rebel lords, they broke up in confusion. Shortly thereafter certain of the clergy, "most hated by the court," fled precipitately to England, "the rough handling of Andrew Melville," being, as the historian Calderwood observes, "a shrewd precedent before their eyes." Still more significant was the return to Scotland of Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews. He had been sent by James in December on a special mission to England; but his absence from Scotland was also in part an expedient to avoid the censure of the Kirk for contumacy. The grossly scurrilous account by Calderwood of Adamson's adventures in England is derived from the satirical, and evidently, for the most part, imaginative, account of his career in the rhyming "Legend or Discourse" of his life "set forth" by Robert Semple, which is almost as rank and indiscriminate in its abuse, as the poetic "flytings" of the old "makaris." Adamson was no doubt worldly and ambitious, and, as did Knox, liked a good glass of wine; but he was one of the ablest and most learned ecclesiastics of his time; and it is a significant fact that no attempt was made by the church courts to censure him for his manner of living. His mission in England—where his eloquence and abilities won him the respect of the leading churchmen—was deemed by James one of prime importance. It was significant of anxiety to sever the bond between Elizabeth and the extreme Protestants in Scotland, and to arrange, in accordance with the old policy of Morton, for ecclesiastical uniformity in the two countries. With Elizabeth's support of the ecclesiastical changes he had in contemplation, one of the main difficulties of James would be at an end; but with or without it, he now resolved to carry them into effect. Accordingly at a parliament held at Edinburgh May 16th-22nd, "without," it is said, "intimation made by public proclamation," but attended, probably, by as many as were disposed to do so—there being present 8 bishops, 13 abbots, 25 peers, and barons, and 23 representatives of burghs—certain acts, afterwards known as the "Black Acts," were passed in regard to the King's prerogatives, and providing for the establishment of Epi-

scopacy as in England, with the King as recognised head of the church. The most important were those (1) confirming the power of the King and Council over all estates and subjects within the realm; (2) confirming the honour, authority and dignity of the three Estates; (3) discharging all jurisdiction and judgments not approved by Parliament; (4) providing for the trial of Church offences by the bishop of the diocese, or the King's commissioners in ecclesiastical causes; and (5) securing the King's personal safety by providing out of the first fruits of vacant benefices for the regular payment of a guard.

Such acts were necessarily very "black" in the eyes of the extreme Presbyterians; but they can hardly be termed revolutionary, nor was their tendency necessarily oppressive. Their main aim was to thwart unlawful attempts either of the nobles or the clergy to concuss the King; and to give the King and Council a freer hand both in civil and ecclesiastical matters. The Kirk's claims to some kind of interference—an interference indeed almost without limit—in matters both of domestic and foreign policy, were not grounded, be it remembered, on anything the State had ever conceded, nor on any corollary of the former Papal supremacy, but on what the clergy termed the "Word of God," and on the assumption that it was their divinely appointed function to interpret it and conform the whole nation to their interpretation. Their pretensions being granted, they would have become the virtual rulers of the country, for the sphere of their active interference embraced the whole compass of human thought and sentiment, and every aspect of conduct and manners; while it was backed by their tremendous weapon of excommunication. Being also, in its transmogrified form, but a few years old, the Kirk combined with the energy and newfangledness of youth, the inexperienced rashness of that interesting period. Unlike those of the great institution from which it had revolted, its methods of dealing with human nature were lacking in subtlety and finesse; and it had imbibed nothing of the spirit of compromise taught by long practical knowledge of human tendencies and possibilities. Had it been allowed unfettered scope for the realization of

its ideal, it would have perfected a religious despotism perhaps unparalleled in its oppressiveness. Happily in revolting from the great Catholic church, whose sway had embraced the civilized world and whose authority was sanctioned by the hoary custom of many centuries, the Scottish Kirk was necessarily robbed of much of its ancient prestige. Knox, Craig, Lawson and Melville were able and eloquent demagogues, but as minor popes they hardly cut an imposing figure; and there was something almost burlesque in the pretensions of the plain and bare Presbyterian Kirk to pose as more than the successor of that august organization which for ages had ruled Christendom. Left to itself, Scottish Presbyterianism would therefore have probably in the end achieved a more or less satisfactory deliverance from its own slavery; but none the less must it be recognised that the Scottish rulers—especially Morton and James VI.—rendered invaluable service to Scotland in tempering the too great zeal and ambition of the clergy. Not that the ideal of James was a whit more reasonable than that of the Kirk. Against the divine right claimed by the Kirk he set up the divine prerogative of the King. He helped, however, to save the nation from falling a prey to intolerant and dangerous fanaticism; while the Kirk, incidentally, helped to bridle the Sovereign's too unqualified domination both in religious and civil matters; and thus between the two, a liberty that was not license ultimately came by its own.

Arran and the King resolved that the new enactments should remain as shortly as possible a dead letter. On the Saturday before they were proclaimed, the magistrates of Edinburgh were ordered to apprehend in the pulpit Lawson or Balcanqual should they make any hostile reference to them. This the magistrates had not the will or the courage to do; and on learning the tenor of Lawson's remarks, Arran vowed that if his head "war als grait as a haystak he sould cause it lope from its hause" [neck]. Pont and Balcanqual had the further temerity to protest against the acts when they were read at the Market Cross on May 25th; but their protests having no perceptible effect on the people, they fled to Berwick. For the timebeing the King's policy was not actively opposed in Scotland.

But mere passive assent was not sufficient for Arran and the King : they rashly determined to secure positive support for it both in word and deed ; and at an Edinburgh parliament of August 27th it was agreed that "all ministers, readers and masters of colledges" should within forty days subscribe an agreement acknowledging the King's spiritual supremacy, and submission to the bishops.

The high-handed procedure of the King prevailed meanwhile in most cases ; but it also created throughout the country a seething discontent, which rendered the position of James and Arran more precarious than ever. Almost everything turned on the attitude of Elizabeth, and only on one point had Elizabeth been able to make up her mind : she was not prepared immediately to deliver up to James the banished lords. Much disconcerted however by the failure of their plot, she wished to be as plausible to James as possible. She therefore professed to accept the French King's proposal that she should effect a reconciliation both with James and his mother, on the basis of an alliance between France, England and Scotland ; and consented that with this view Mauvissière should consult with James in Scotland ; but the impracticable attitude of Mary caused by her son's discomfiture of the rebel lords, rendered negotiation impossible, and Mauvissière's journey to Scotland was therefore stayed.

Incited by new hopes of her son's possible devotion to Catholicism, Mary now sent Fontenay, brother-in-law of her secretary Nau, as confidential messenger to him. Landing at Leith early in July, he was well received by the King, with whom he had friendly conversations, but except for obtaining insight into the King's disposition, abilities, and intentions, the mission was a failure. Fontenay was greatly struck with the young King's intelligence, his high intellectual acquirements, and his philosophic candour. Yet his vanity and conceit were only too manifest, as well as his strenuous ambition ; while, especially to a French courtier, his manners appeared strangely uncouth and his bearing odd and ungainly. Owing to his upbringing, he was somewhat too deferential to the great lords, but he appeared to possess a mind and a will of his own ; and though not of

vigorous physique, was of hardy habits and passionately fond of field sports. But shrewd, clever and of strong idiosyncrasy though he was, his success as sovereign was, in Fontenay's opinion, very doubtful. One disqualification was his inordinate self-esteem, which caused him to despise princes greater than himself; another was imprudent attachments to favourites; and a third a perfunctory interest in State affairs. All these faults might, however, be amended in time. Indeed, James explained that he both knew more of what was going on than was suspected, and was less idle than he seemed: though, like the Spanish jannet, unable to hold out long, he covered his ground very quickly. As for favourites, he explained that they were necessarily more devoted to his service than the great nobles, since they depended more on his good will. With all his oddities, defects, and faults, he was in truth, much more competent for his peculiar and difficult *rôle* than Fontenay imagined; but if Fontenay supposed that his salvation as sovereign depended upon his acceptance of his mother's policy, he could not fail to be anxious about his future. James, indeed, sent his mother a letter brimful of protestations and promises; and, on Fontenay presenting him with a sword from her, he swore that he would act, always, as her good and loyal chevalier; but Fontenay saw that he had his own notions as to how this noble resolution should be fulfilled. Much, he thought, would depend on Arran and his lady, who could be appealed to only through their avarice or ambition. He describes them as "clever, sprightly, acute, supple, covetous of wealth and greatness, daring in purpose and skilful in contrivance, and having as complete control of the King as if they had bewitched him." Their assistance would have been invaluable, but Fontenay had little hopes of gaining it; and though sanguine of the King's conversion, if he had the benefit of instruction from a learned and able Catholic, he was obliged to conclude that meanwhile he was a decided, if not quite conventional, Protestant, with a strong aversion to the Pope as well as to priests and monks.

As matter of fact, the interest of James—"an old young man," as Fontenay terms him, in whom the more ingenuous instincts of youth had

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

From the Painting by Oudry in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Hardwick.

been almost extinguished by early contact with peculiar perils and the harder and sterner aspects of life—in his mother's welfare was of a very mild kind. He wished to be on as friendly terms with her as circumstances would permit, and was prepared to gratify her by some kind of punishment of Lord Lindsay and others; but his immediate concern was really to come to an understanding with Elizabeth on his own account. William Davison had been sent to Scotland ostensibly to induce James to agree with the banished lords; but neither in this, nor in an attempt to organize a new rebellion, nor in a plot for seizing Edinburgh Castle had he any success. The King was acting with the utmost rigour in punishing all in the late rebellion, while Arran and others were being enriched with their forfeited spoils. Moreover Davison believed—though here he was quite astray—that the King and his mother were about to consolidate their interests through an alliance with France. This induced Elizabeth, on the advice of Burghley and others, to begin negotiations with Arran through Hunsdon, with whom Arran had an interview on the second week of August at Faulden Church, near Berwick.

Arran had that peculiar faculty for predominance which ensures the almost slavish homage of the average man. Not merely was Hunsdon prepared to vouch for his sincerity, but Arran's gifts and graces inspired him with an almost reverential awe. Nor was he wholly at fault in supposing that Arran honestly desired to come to terms with Elizabeth. True, if Arran shared the complete confidence of James, he must have lied in denying that James had sent any message to the Pope; but then was James sincere in his message? Or with France and Spain had he been more than coquetting? And were not he and Arran at one in the belief that a satisfactory alliance with Elizabeth was the best thing, if it could be had? Or could there be a doubt of the truthfulness of Arran's denial that there was any agreement "with his Majesty's mother touching the association?" The real aim of James was now, in fact, to come to an agreement with Elizabeth which would render him independent of his mother and the Catholics; and to convince her of his sincerity he even proposed to make known to her

the secret practices of Mary and the Catholics against her. In those practices Arran and the King were themselves involved, but Arran swore that they knew nothing of them except from the Master of Gray, whom Arran introduced to Hunsdon with a view of his being sent to Elizabeth. Elizabeth was not deceived, and probably Arran was aware of this; but by employing Gray the King and he escaped from the need of making any formal profession of repentance, while their revelation of the plots through Gray was proof sufficient that they were done with them. Having this great trump-card to play, they were almost disposed to regard the game as already won through Elizabeth; and since, after Hunsdon's report, she discharged the banished ministers from preaching in any part of England, Arran was encouraged to adopt a policy of such severity against the recusants, that unless he had Elizabeth's full support in it, it was bound to issue in disaster to himself. But as yet Elizabeth was only feeling her way. Though willing, and more than willing to receive Gray, she informed Burghley that she doubted "greatly of his good meaning;" and before he set out, her suspicions of his and Arran's falsity received some confirmation from the capture in September of Father William Crichton on his way to Scotland to attempt the King's conversion, this forlorn hope having apparently suggested itself to Mary on Fontenay's report of its plausibility. The embarrassment of the King's situation was that he had meanwhile to dissemble to his mother and the Catholics. Gray's mission, however, would compel him to burn his boats and trust his fortunes with Elizabeth. On this cast of the dice he was venturing everything; and it is not, therefore, surprising that he hesitated before making the throw. Thus, though Gray obtained a passport from Elizabeth on August 23rd, he did not receive his commission from James until October 14th. Various negotiations regarding the Borders and other matters were entrusted to him; but the chief purpose of his mission was to complete the work of Arran by obtaining the extradition or expulsion from England of the banished lords, and a defensive league between the two countries without reference to the interests of Mary. The main hope of the King was in convincing Elizabeth that he

was rendering her invaluable services against his mother and the Catholics. As Sir Edward Hobey wrote of Gray to Burghley "If his bias be now turned, as is presumed, both in Scotland and elsewhere, he will prove a fit instrument for her Majesty's service and safety."

Meanwhile Mary, in blissful ignorance that his "bias" was "turned," hoped that having been doing his best in her interests with James, he was being sent to plead her cause with Elizabeth; or, if cherishing any doubts, she at first acted as if fully convinced of his loyalty. On learning of his mission she appeared specially gratified and hoped to have an interview with him. She even sent him instructions that her son should not negotiate with Elizabeth except conjointly with her, and that Gray's special aim should be to secure her liberty. To this, on November 22nd, Gray replied soothingly, but vaguely; the King, he said, "hath not given me commandement to deal in all things conjointly, as if the association was perfected in effect, but yet his will is that I do for your Majesty in all things that may tend to your weale and contentment." Hoping perhaps against hope, and desirous, as far as possible, to humour her son's self-regard, she, on December 14th, intimated her resolution to allow him the government of affairs, while reserving to herself the just authority belonging to her as his mother. Previous to this Gray had complained to her that Fontenay had been writing against him to the King; and as to Fontenay's distrust of him he was correct. If he had any scruples left this would dissolve them; but the likelihood is that he left the ship of Mary mainly because he felt it to be doomed. It was, of course, a matter of opinion whether her interests would not be best served after James had first come to terms with Elizabeth for himself; but, early in January, Mary began to be seriously alarmed as to Gray's real intentions. What revelations he made to Elizabeth we do not know. Elizabeth's complaint to Arran, on January 22nd, of Gray's lack of frankness in his revelations, may merely refer to his concealment of the practices of the King and Arran. So successful, in any case, was his mission, that the rebel lords were informed that she had consented to their "removal from the frontiers of the Kingdom." On his return to Scotland

Gray was also able, on January 22nd, to report to Elizabeth and Burghley the King's satisfaction at the result of the mission. To, at least, this extent it was satisfactory, that he was freed from immediate danger from the rebel lords and that there were good prospects of an equitable league with England. To Elizabeth also the result was gratifying in that an irrevocable breach had been effected between James and his mother. Now, knowing that her son had repudiated the "association," Mary threatened him with her malediction if he persisted in his evil course, and to grant his rights both to the Scottish and English crowns to another. She also fully meant what she wrote. As she was now placed in strict confinement in Tutbury, it was with great difficulty that she was able to receive and communicate intelligence; but, on May 20th, she asked Mendoza to inform his master that unless her son should submit to the Catholic faith before her death, she had resolved to concede and make over to him by will the right of succession to the English crown.

The rights and wrongs between James and his mother cannot be decided by the maxims usually applied to maternal and filial relationships. In ordinary circumstances a son's jealousy or dread of his mother's sovereignty would be deemed wholly deplorable; and the conduct of James towards his mother was largely determined by an ambition that was merely selfish. Yet he had very good reason to be wary of her intentions. Her case, it is true, was outwardly the harder of the two; and had she been altogether wronged in being debarred from sovereignty, it would have been inexpressibly cruel and unjust that that wrong should be continued by her son; but the situation was wholly exceptional, and the son's filial piety had also been stifled by a variety of influences which cannot now be discussed.

Though successful in effecting an almost irrevocable breach between James and his mother, Elizabeth had still her anxieties as to what he might attempt against her on his own account. Her main aim now was to reconcile him to the Protestant lords; but to this James utterly objected, and would continue to object so long as Arran had any say in the matter. Thus the overthrow of Arran—who, Elizabeth feared, would not scruple

at any foreign alliance against her to retain his power—became the next step in English diplomacy. The instrument for this purpose was providentially supplied in Gray, who, having broken with the Catholics, was compelled to come to terms with the Protestants, and between whom and Arran there was already a latent rivalry. As regards the favour of James the star of Gray was rising, and that of Arran on the wane. With all his ability Arran was of too dominant a temper always to act with proper deference towards the King. Fontenay affirmed that every one at the court hated him like the devil, and that he believed that even the King made use of him only as a necessary evil. Added to this he was neither a match for Gray in subtlety and finesse, nor his equal in personal charm, and the peculiar social gifts which secured for Gray the friendship of Sir Philip Sidney.

To aid in supplanting Arran, Elizabeth, in April, sent to Scotland Sir Edward Wotton, to act in co-operation with Gray. He was to arrange for a league for mutual defence between England and Scotland, and was also to offer James a pension, which however was so small, that Walsingham advised Wotton not to mention the amount. But his main purpose was to win the King's confidence; and, according to Sir James Melville, he became one of his most familiar companions in all his sports and pastimes. Finding it impossible to alter the King's attitude towards the banished lords, or shake his confidence in Arran, Wotton was empowered to arrange secretly with Gray for some violent method against Arran, but this being found difficult, was only to be had recourse to in extremity. Meanwhile, on July 27th, Lord Russell was slain in a Border fray, in which Ker of Ferniehirst, an intimate friend of Arran, was leader on the Scottish side. It was asserted by the English that the real instigator of the fray was Arran, and this with a view to cause a breach in the friendship between James and Elizabeth. On learning of the occurrence, James, according to Wotton, "shed tears like a newly-beaten child," and on the remonstrance of Wotton committed Arran to custody in St. Andrews, and even promised to send him and Ker to England for trial. Strange to say, however, Gray interposed with James in Arran's favour, and induced him to permit Arran

to go to his house at Kinneil, on the caution of Gray and others. The assertion that Arran had bribed Gray is mere conjecture, and probably Gray was merely endeavouring to bamboozle Arran, and conceal his main movements against him. On July 8th, Gray had written to Archibald Douglas that "an angel shall come from heaven before he trusts Arran;" but he saw that Elizabeth and her advisers were running a wrong course in seeking to disgrace him with the King. The King, tired of Arran though he might be, was unable to summon up the resolution to defy him; and Gray therefore advised that Elizabeth should "let slip" the rebel lords, who would be able to take Arran and seize on the King's person. But Elizabeth, as usual, wished to avoid responsibility, and it was only on the urgent representations of Wotton that Arran was preparing a counter-stroke, and that, by her hesitancy, even Gray might be driven to support him, that she was at last induced to give an indirect sanction to the scheme. Meantime Wotton and Gray had been making secret preparations for co-operation with the Lords in Scotland, and as soon as all was ready, Wotton, on pretence of inability to obtain redress for Russell's murder, withdrew on October 13th to Berwick. The banished Lords—Angus, Mar and the Master of Glamis—asked and obtained Elizabeth's permission to leave England, not for Scotland, but for Germany, so that Elizabeth might, as she did, disown connection with the venture. So complete were the preparations, and so widespread the hostility to Arran, that the muster of the rebels' own followers, and the co-operation of powerful allies, such as Morton and the Hamiltons, had almost instant effect, and, on November 1st, a force of 10,000 men appeared at St. Ninian's. Arran, who had heard of the project, had come to Stirling to denounce Gray, but Gray had appeared before the King and denied all knowledge of it; and Arran's hope of vengeance on him was destroyed by the sudden appearance of the insurgents. The King could have made some show of opposition, but, as Calderwood observes, there was division amongst those with him, only Colonel Stewart and Montrose supporting Arran, while even Marischal and Seton remained passive, and other gentlemen in the

JAMES VI., KING OF SCOTLAND.

From plaster casts of the Gold Medal in the British Museum.

to

for

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TRIUMPHAL ARCH ERECTED IN HONOUR OF KING JAMES'S ENTRANCE
INTO AND PASSAGE THROUGH LONDON.

From an engraving in Stephen Harrison's *Archs of Triumph* (1604).

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

From the Painting in the Collection of Viscount Dillon at Ditchley, Enstone, Oxfordshire.

strances of Andrew Melville, the King himself entered into a documentary discussion of the points at issue, which, clever though it was, necessarily failed to convince his clerical gainsayers. At a convention at Holyrood, on February 17th, 1585-6, a kind of compromise was however patched up, it being admitted by the clergy that "the name of bishop hath a special charge and function annexed to it by the Word." But though the King retained the power of nominating the bishops, the clergy were permitted to exercise as much superintendence over the bishop as he was permitted to exercise over them; and, in fact, no satisfactory working arrangement was arrived at. Nor was the situation improved by a further compromise in May—that bishops should only be subject to trial by the General Assembly, and should preside at the meetings of Presbyteries and Synods, except Fife, where their *bête noire* Adamson would have presided. As the Synods could use their weapon of excommunication against even a bishop, the victory seemed to remain with the Kirk, although the result was rather a drawn battle; for, at that very Assembly, Adamson—who, in an absurd and arbitrary manner, had been excommunicated by the Synod of Fife, and who, in almost burlesque fashion, had caused sentence of excommunication to be pronounced against Andrew and James Melville—was restored, the process and sentence being regarded as "undeducted." True, he had to deny that he meant to "claim any supremacy" over the pastors and ministers, and promised in future to "labour to be the bishop described by St. Paul;" but to be constrained, on any terms, to acknowledge Adamson as archbishop must have been a sore trial to the extreme zealots, who were in the minority.

Meantime the King's attention was concentrated mainly on the negotiations with England. On the receipt of his message through Sir William Keith, Elizabeth sent the veteran Randolph to Scotland, where he arrived on February 26th, 1585-6. He discovered that great efforts were being made to seduce the King to an alliance with France, and that Catholic emissaries were also busy with schemes for a new revolution. This rendered Elizabeth more anxious to come to terms with James. As an additional guarantee against a future agreement between James and his mother,

Randolph was empowered to treat for the recall and pardon of Archibald Douglas, who, having fled to England when Morton was apprehended, had commended himself to Elizabeth by betrayal of Mary's secrets, and was now in close intimacy with Gray. To this James made no demur, the fact being that he was in communication with him through his nephew Richard Douglas, and was using him to induce Randolph to better his offers. Douglas arrived in Edinburgh on April 27th, the King having arranged to have an interview with him in Gray's lodgings before he showed himself at Court. As a result, the King expressed his conviction that he was innocent of Darnley's murder, "except in foreknowledge and concealing," a fault however so common that he was hardly to be blamed. On this plea—which, however, had not availed Morton—he was, after trial, formally acquitted, to the general scandal of the nation.

Meantime James, in the hope of further satisfactory arrangements with Elizabeth, had given full consent to the league; and on July 5th—after much haggling in regard to his personal claims—a treaty was signed by the commissioners of the two countries. In lieu of the Lennox estates in England, James obtained a pension of £4,000, and in general terms Elizabeth undertook that she would do nothing, nor allow anything to be done, in derogation of his claims unless provoked by his manifest ingratitude. The treaty rendered abortive the renewed attempts at a Catholic revolution in Scotland. On 15th May, Huntly had made a special appeal to Philip II. to place the King "in his former liberty;" and on the 20th a similar appeal was sent by Lord Claud Hamilton. But for the disastrous issue of the Babington conspiracy, the Hamilton and Huntly scheme might have been carried out; but the calamitous termination of the last device on behalf of Mary, interrupted for a time the only half-developed Scottish plot.

On August 3rd, Mary was suddenly arrested at Tixall, where she was detained, while her papers at Chartley were being searched; and, on September 25th, she was sent to Fotheringay Castle, where, on October 14th and 15th, she was brought to trial and found guilty. We are not here concerned primarily with the rights and wrongs between Mary and Elizabeth. If

Mary gave encouragement to Elizabeth's assassination, she was but in the same boat with Philip and the Pope; and even Angus, the particular patron of the Kirk, was of opinion that she "could not be blamed if she caused Elizabeth's throat to be cut." The question of her execution was a trying one for Elizabeth, though with her it was plainly only a question of what was expedient. More painful than the position of Elizabeth or even that of his mother—though she was the central figure of the tragedy—would have been the position of James, had he ever known anything resembling filial affection. But the most tragic part of the situation was that his natural affection had been supplanted by extreme jealousy and distrust. Thus he received the news of his mother's terrible predicament not merely with no show of concern or regret, but with a certain measure of elation. On September 2nd, Gray "prays" Archibald Douglas "to show her Majesty how glad the King is that this matter is come to light;" and states that the King "will shortly write her a letter of congratulations." On the 8th he wrote that though it could not stand with the King's honour to be a consenter to his mother's death, still he was "content how strictly sche be kepit and all hir auld knaifishe servants heingit;" and Gray also further gave Douglas the hint either that the King was objecting to the execution only for appearance' sake, or to gain better terms for himself, or that it was inadvisable to guide himself by the King's present opinion: "seeing necessitie of all honest menis affairs requiris yt sche var out of the vay." While writing on the 10th that the King could not consent that her life should be taken, but proposed that she should be placed in close confinement in the Tower, he again warned him on another sheet to "beware in that matter, for she were well out of the way." It was further proved at Gray's trial that he advised that if Elizabeth thought it best to take Mary's life, *Quia mortui non mordent*, it would be better that it should be done privately. Walsingham, recognising that it would be against *bonos mores* that James should be a party to his mother's death, hinted that he had better leave the whole matter in Elizabeth's hands. But James, in view of the possibility that Elizabeth's decision might vitally affect his own

fortunes, with a peculiar mixture of shrewdness and ineptitude, instructed his ambassadors to press for a decision on his title. This could hardly fail to produce the impression that he was even prepared to sell his mother's life for a guarantee of his right to the succession. Politically, the removal of his mother would be as great a relief to him as it would be to Elizabeth, and that he was blind to this aspect of the case is incredible. At the same time, her execution would cast a slur on himself, which he could not, like Elizabeth, escape, even if he were absolved from responsibility of the death. To be the son of a parent who had been ignominiously executed by the English government would be decidedly unpleasant, and might even affect his English title; but although latterly James was impressed by the strong Scottish sentiment against the execution, the earlier diplomacy conveys the impression, that if his right of succession were guaranteed he would not be inconsolable. In any case, he was more than content that his mother should be labelled "guilty," and ingeniously suggested that, on this account, an arrangement might be made, whereby she might, under adequate guarantees, hand over her rights in the English succession to himself. Had his suggestion been accepted, he would have had the credit of having done estimable service both to his mother and himself; but when his proposition was expounded by Gray to Elizabeth, it had but short shrift. "Then I put myself," she exclaimed, "in a worse case than of before : by God's passion that were to cut my own throat."

However anxious James may at last have been to prevent the execution, his sincerity was bound to be in doubt so long as he put his trust in such diplomatic agents as Douglas and Gray, both of whom enjoyed indeed the special favour of Elizabeth, but mainly because they had already betrayed Mary. But Mr. Lang, on account of Gray's friendship with Sir Philip Sidney, is disposed to think that Gray's spirit, after the death of Sidney, became softened and that his sentiments towards Mary underwent a change. On his appointment along with Sir Robert Melville as ambassador on her behalf, he "took," affirms Mr. Lang in his *History of Scotland*, "a nobler course, a course more worthy of his *Astrophel*."

But to establish this romantic theory, it was not enough to show, as Mr. Lang has done, that the statements of Melville and Gray have been seriously misrepresented by Froude. After he broke with Mary, Gray never — as Mr. Lang affirms he did — “took her part,” except from mere compulsion. On the contrary, a striking characteristic of the attitude both of Douglas and Gray towards her is that neither the one nor the other expressed any personal regret for her fate. Elaborate proof is not needed that Gray, so far as could be discovered, loyally supported Melville in the mission on her behalf; but he took care, when on the way to London, to let Douglas, who was in the confidence of Elizabeth, know that he was not expressing his own personal wishes — that he was coming at the King’s command, and against his own will. Since he was appointed he had no choice but to act as a “Scottisman,” but, unlike that of most other Scots, his own opinion was that she were “well out of the way.” Is, for example, any noble zeal on behalf of the Queen he had betrayed manifested in the following soliloquy, that might have been uttered by Hamlet? “Refuse I, the King shall think I knew already what shall come of things. So that, if she die, he shall not fail to quarrel me for it; live she, I shall have double harm. Refuse I not, but enterprise the voyage, if she die, men shall think I had lent her a part, so that I shall live under that slander; and, live she by my travail, I bring a staff to my own head, or at the least shall gain little thanks.”

Calderwood makes the somewhat Hibernian affirmation that “when the King heard of the execution he could not conceal his inward joy, howbeit outwardly he seemed to be sorrowful.” But whatever his own feelings, he had to pay some regard to those of his subjects, even if Elizabeth’s conduct had not been fitted to awaken doubt as well as resentment. He was almost bound outwardly to interpret the execution of his mother, in opposition to his protests, as a slur on himself and an insult to the Scottish nation. The case was hardly indeed on all fours with the execution of Charles I., which caused a break in the friendship between the Cromwellians and the Scottish Presbyterians. Charles had been monarch of

both countries and his supposed offences had been strictly political; but Mary, formerly Elizabeth's neighbour sovereign, was now her prisoner, and in this position was supposed to have countenanced a conspiracy against Elizabeth's life. Yet the general opinion in Scotland, as elsewhere, was that Mary had received insufferable provocation; and, more than all, Elizabeth was acting as if her pretended overlordship was mandate sufficient to try and condemn a Scottish sovereign. Mr. Lang has even expressed the view that, had James been "a prince of heart and spirit," he would, in revenge for the insult, have "risked a second Flodden;" and although in the high game of politics a sacrifice of mere personal feelings is frequently demanded, a son, possessing true filial affection and perfect trust in his mother's intentions towards himself, would have been a mere dastard, had he not definitely foresworn all friendship with Elizabeth. As it was, James would, by his own conception of self-respect, have been compelled to do more than nominally suspend diplomatic relations, had not the noble Gray discovered a way out of the difficulty, which apparently both James and Gray mistook for the path of honour, "In my opinion," thus wrote Gray to Douglas, February 24th, 1586-7, "the meetest were that the Queen of England in effect should let the King see, by some honest proof, that the cruel accident fell out far contrary to her meaning," and again on the 28th: "If the Queen follow forth this course, to excuse herself and give some proof of it, without doubt the King shall love her and honour her before all other princes; and in my opinion, now, seeing she has meddled so far, I think she goodly cannot go back with it." And what kind of proof does Gray suggest? Nothing less than the sacrifice of someone to save Elizabeth's honour! "I speak," thus he makes known his *Eureka* to Douglas, "plain language, *necesse est unum mori pro populo*; and so her Majesty shall be free. I speak in particular, by God, of no man, neither particularly invye I any: but in this sort shall her Majesty only be free." Gray knew and Douglas knew that the excuse of Elizabeth was mere pretence, and that the base expedient suggested would in no way deceive James: all they wanted was a feasible make-believe for public decency's sake.

Elizabeth did not go quite so far as Gray suggested. She told James of her "incomparable grief" for "this lamentable event which is happened contrary to my meaning;" but Davison, who had so badly interpreted her meaning, was not by the judges deemed guilty of much more than indiscretion, and only sentenced to imprisonment during Elizabeth's pleasure. But, of course, James rather preferred that Elizabeth should not quite succeed in vindicating herself; for, so long as she failed to recognise his title, it was of importance to him to keep up the execution grievance. Diplomatic relations were therefore nominally suspended; but, so far from being offended even with Archibald Douglas—whose name was then so "odious" in Scotland that Gray was afraid it should be known that he was still in communication with him—the King made a secret arrangement whereby Douglas should continue indirectly to act on his behalf in London, the King communicating with him mainly through Archibald's nephew, Richard. He was "to continue in advancing the King's service" in such ways as he thought "most convenient," which "were remitted to his own wisdom and discretion." The attitude which he was to adopt towards Elizabeth was one of blended menace and cajolery. "Always," writes Richard to his uncle, "he approves your opinion in saying ye know nothing able to satisfy him, unless it were a public declaration of his succession to the crown, failing issue of the body." He was also to represent that James, being solicited both by France and Spain, was perfectly able to "repair the wrong offered to him, if love to Elizabeth and England and zeal in religion did not somewhat hold him back. But ye may be assured he cannot be long restrained." In this picture of the indignant young King with difficulty held on the leash, there was more than a touch of burlesque; but doubtless Douglas would make the most of the grievance, though James had virtually given himself away by making use of an agent who had, it may be, even suggested his mother's execution. The position of the four intriguers—Elizabeth, James, Gray and Douglas—was more or less despicable; but our standards are quite inapplicable to that desperate time. The political duplicity and callousness of the sixteenth century were

created by strifes, the momentous bitterness of which is beyond our realization. To label, therefore, subordinate agents like Gray and Douglas as mere political scoundrels, does not instruct us much as to their real characteristics apart from politics. Indeed the correspondence of Douglas manifests both the kindliness of his domestic relationships, and the sincerity of his private friendships; but intrigue was then as dangerous a game as war, and the limits of fairness in it were even more flexible.

On July 8th, James gave Richard Douglas certain instructions to be communicated to his uncle : (1) He was to travel earnestly that the King might be declared second person and heir apparent to the crown of England; (2) if Elizabeth persisted "in her wonted obstinacy," he was to insist on at least a private letter acknowledging him "lawful and nearest successor to the crown;" (3) "to remove all kinds of suspicion of her eveil meaning, especially after the *infernal* proceedings against his dearest mother," she was to be moved to give him "some lands in England, chiefly in the north parts, of ample and sufficient extent, with the title of Duke;" and (4) Lady Arabella was not to be given in marriage without the King's "special advice and consent." But, apparently desirous to avoid responsibility for the King's failure to obtain any of these assuagements of his grief, Archibald Douglas advised him either to break off all negotiations with England, or to begin "a private dealing with Elizabeth." Neither of these alternatives commended itself to James, who desired Douglas to continue "as of wont to advertise him of all matters that may concern his state," he meanwhile agreeing to "abstain from all things that may anywise offend or irritate that country." On November 14th, Archibald drew up a "project for remedying the differences between England and Scotland." Its main suggestion was a declaration under the Great Seal that the execution of Mary did not prejudice the King of Scotland's rights of inheritance to the crown of England; but nothing came of the suggestion; and James could do nothing more than resolve to "await what time will produce."

The extreme pressure on James to force a quarrel with Elizabeth had become less severe after he, like her, had sacrificed a scapegoat—the

Master of Gray—who thus was, in a manner, “hoist with his own petard.” Unlike Davison, Gray—for having, before his embassy to England, advised that Mary should be privately done away with, and for other treasons—was sentenced to execution, but his life was spared, though he had for a while to leave the country. With his fall, the King became more dependent on Sir John Maitland, a younger brother of William, Mary’s secretary, and with similar, if less subtle, gifts as a politician. From 1584 he had been Secretary of State, and in August 1587 he succeeded to the chancellorship previously held by Arran. Like his brother William, he had the avail of a perfectly open mind, both in regard to politics and religion: whatever his contempt for the extreme pretensions of the Presbyterian leaders, he did not disdain to humour them when he deemed this expedient; while with the “mammon of unrighteousness,” as represented by the Catholic Earls, he also at a pinch was not indisposed to make friends. Against his prudence may, indeed, be charged his speech at the close of Parliament against the execution of the King’s mother, which was so impassioned that it stirred the lords present to proffer the King what assistance he might need in procuring revenge; but even the King may have been desirous—if only for his own ends—to impress Elizabeth with the strength of the Scottish feeling against the execution. Under Maitland, the King sought in Scotland to steer a middle course, and reconcile the different factions. After the May convention he, in view of his coming majority, gave a banquet to the nobility in Holyrood on Sunday, when he drank to their concord and peace, and vowed to be a mortal enemy to him who first broke it; and on the following Monday, at a long table set at the Cross, a similar demonstration of reconciliation took place in presence of the multitude. By the Parliament held after his majority, the most important act passed was that for “annexation of the temporalities of benefices to the crown.” Though the Kirk was thus, according to James Melville, “spuilyet be a plane law of the ane half of her patrimonie,” the clergy agreed to it in the hope that it would “be the bane of episcopal power and jurisdiction.” Another Act of some constitutional importance

was the revival of that of James I. (1427), providing that the lesser barons should return commissioners to Parliament for each shire.

But the King's main attention was now claimed rather by foreign intrigues than by domestic politics. Mary having made over the rights in the English succession to Philip, the movements of Spain required to be narrowly watched. However much Philip might seek to veil his aims, it was more certain than ever that if he engaged in any crusade against Elizabeth, it would only be on his own behalf. It was therefore of great importance for James (1) to be on good terms with the Scottish Catholics, and (2) to cultivate the friendship of Guise. With this view he decided to continue Beaton as Scottish ambassador at Paris, and even restored Beaton and Bishop Leslie to their temporalities in Scotland. This aroused in Paris "great hopes of the conversion of the King;" but, as Mendoza remarked, it signified only that James "desired to follow a certain line in politics, and not in religion."

Whatever the indignation of Philip at Mary's execution, her removal was an important step towards the attainment of his ambitious designs on England; and his purpose was appreciably aided by her will, as although he had to conceal any intention to act on it, it secured him the goodwill of many English Catholics. His claims to the English crown were practically based on the fact that the will disinherited James on the ground of heresy, his contention being that, on account of his descent from John of Gaunt, he was, after James, the next heir, for the reason that Angus, when he married Margaret Tudor—grandmother of Arabella Stuart—had another wife alive. But Philip resolved meanwhile to give no signs of his intention to claim the title. All that he at first ventured to do was to get the Archbishop of Nazareth, "prompted by his zeal for religion," to suggest to the Pope that James, as a heretic, should be deprived; and, even in the final arrangements, there was no reference to Philip's dynastic pretensions, the choice of the new sovereign being merely left to his decision, and the clause so worded that he might select, not himself, but "the Prince [of Asturias, afterwards Philip III.] or the Infanta."

The Armada enterprise, for which stupendous preparations were now in

progress, was ostensibly a purely religious one, both specially sanctioned and largely financed by the Pope. Yet its ultimate aim was Philip's own aggrandizement. He was even averse to permit Guise to intermeddle with it, on account of the latter's lingering solicitude for the interests of James, the exclusion of whom Philip deemed "extremely important." Though posing as the great Catholic champion, Philip now looked on the possible conversion of James with repugnance, and when he heard of a purpose of Guise to marry him to a niece of the Pope, he asked Olivarez to use every effort, "through trustworthy persons, intimate with his Holiness and yourself, to prevent its being entertained." Yet all the while he was as unctuous as ever in his efforts to secure the aid of the Scottish Catholics, on the tacit understanding that, should they persuade James towards Catholicism, the enterprise would be on his special behalf, though its prime aim was to oust him from the English succession. Even if James could not be enticed directly to aid Philip's enterprise, it was of great importance that he should be rendered powerless to help Elizabeth. Shortly after Mary's execution, Philip therefore agreed, through Robert Bruce, to pay the Catholic earls 150,000 crowns, "three or four months after they have taken up arms and liberated their King;" in April, this was conjoined with an arrangement for bringing over 6,000 Spanish troops to Leith in grain vessels; but, from various causes, the scheme was delayed until the season became too far advanced. Thereupon, with a view of sounding James, it was decided to offer him through Bruce, on behalf of Philip, "the help he might require to avenge the death of his mother;" but, although James expressed himself "as strongly inclined and willing to do it," after consulting with the secretary and the justice clerk, he "cooled from his first fervour."

All the while, Huntly and the Catholic lords had been urgent on Philip for assistance; and, in January, they made a kind of armed reconnaissance, but with quite discouraging results. On the 27th, they convened at Linlithgow, nominally with a view to proceed to Edinburgh, to see that Huntly's relative, the laird of Gicht, had a fair trial; but Huntly was com-

manded, on pain of treason, to present himself before the King; and, although he at first flatly refused, he finally undertook either to deliver up his kinsman or banish him; and, after a conference with the King at Cramond, both he and Lord Herries came to Holyrood, where they stayed the night. Afterwards the Catholic earls returned to Court; and at a great banquet which he gave the King at Dunfermline in April, Huntly endeavoured to persuade the King to change the chief officers of State, and to grant liberty of conscience to Catholics, but the King declined, and suddenly left Dunfermline early in the morning.

Instead of supplying a reinforcement to the Scottish earls, Philip now proposed merely to send over Colonel Semple and Maxwell, the banished earl of Morton, to encourage them. Morton had proposed to Philip three alternative plans for the earls: either (1) immediately to take up arms against the Scottish Protestants; or (2) to cross the Borders so as to hamper Elizabeth; or (3) to remain near the Borders so as to prevent any Scottish force going to her assistance; but Philip thought the first course would only have the effect of "driving" the "Scottish heretics" into "a closer union with England;" and, in arranging for either of the other two alternatives, Mendoza was to take care to arouse no suspicion in the Catholics "about their King, which might alienate them from us." Any direct assistance Philip might have obtained from the Scottish Catholics was, however, rendered impossible by the imprudence of Morton in prematurely assembling his followers, against the instructions of Philip and the desires of the earls. Obtaining no support from the earls, he fortified himself in Lochmaben Castle; and on the approach of the King in May, he went on board his ship; but he was so hotly pursued by Sir William Stewart that he had to take to his boat and go on shore, where he was captured in a cothouse. Angus, who had charge of the expedition, and was made Warden of the West Marches, died shortly thereafter of a wasting disease attributed by the Protestants to Catholic incantation; and Sir William Stewart, who had captured him, perished in a brawl with Bothwell's followers in the High Street of Edinburgh.

The imprudence of Morton not only caused a collapse in the plans of the Catholic earls, but induced the King to declare himself "much more openly than before against the Catholics." On May 7th proclamation had been made "to all the lieges to be in readiness to resist invasion from abroad;" and, in the orders of August 1st, it was denounced as "a detestable conspiracie against Christ and his Evangel." In his resolve not to assist Philip, James had hardly been encouraged by the instructions, June 17th, to Robert Cary : to offer (1) a declaration, under the Great Seal, of Elizabeth's "innocency" of the execution; (2) a declaration that the execution would not prejudice "such rights as he may pretend" to the English succession; and (3) the ratification of the league; but (1) to represent the inexpediency of the dukedom; and (2) virtually to refuse a pension. "His Majesty," wrote Richard Douglas to his uncle, "marvels very much that Elizabeth should have so slender regard to him;" on July 10th he warned him that, though James was jealous of the Spanish occupation of England, it might "not be impossible," unless he were better treated by Elizabeth, to persuade him to support Spain. On August 5th he informed him that "a number here not of the unwisest," thought the King had been too hasty in declaring himself for Elizabeth; and on August 14th he wrote that James was specially hurt by Elizabeth's conduct in regard to the dukedom and the pension. After James had so far committed himself against Philip and the Catholics, Elizabeth deemed it unnecessary to expend much in buying his support. Yet the position he assumed towards the momentous conflict, apparently looming in the immediate future, was hardly more than one of neutrality. Although in his speech at the July convention he shrewdly remarked that he could not credit that, should the King of Spain prevail in England, he would give place to his right, the only resolution come to was that James should "strive to assure his own Kingdom, and not permit" the Spaniards "to take land in his bounds." Huntly and the Scottish Catholics gave no sign; only the obstreperous Bothwell was bold enough to urge an invasion of England; and Scotland waited—the one party in hope, the other in dread

expectancy, for the rise of the curtain on events of thrilling interest; but although, according to James Melville, "terrible was the feir, persing war the pretchings, earnest, zealous and fervent war the prayers, sounding war the siches and sobbes and abounding war the tears," as during the meeting of the Assembly in August, varied and contradictory intelligence arrived of Spanish landings, Scotland never was in any real danger; and after the peril was passed in England, the Protestantism of both countries was rendered more secure than ever.

The death of Leicester on September 4th was deemed by James a great blow to his hopes of a satisfactory arrangement with Elizabeth; for through Leicester's nephew, Sir Robert Sidney, the ambassador in Scotland, he thought himself secure of his support. After the overwhelming disaster to Philip's grandiose endeavour, Elizabeth had no immediate call to conciliate James, who, as the Master of Gray put it, "after all the golden mountains offered, received only fiddlers' wages"—a gift of £3,000. Sore at Elizabeth's scurvy treatment of him, he was not indisposed to, at least, coquet with the Spanish party; and Maitland adroitly suggested to Fowler "that the death of Guise"—in December—"would make Philip seek his master and esteem him more than before," since Scotland was now "his only card to play against England." The truth was that James rather liked to cause Elizabeth uneasiness; and now that the danger to him from Spain was over, he wished also to be friendly with such powerful nobles as Bothwell, Huntly and the Hamiltons. On July 21st Huntly had married Lady Henrietta Stuart, daughter of the King's late favourite, Esmé Duke of Lennox. The Presbytery of Edinburgh had prohibited the marriage unless he subscribed the confession, and although Huntly persuaded Archbishop Adamson to marry him without the preliminary homage to the Kirk, he had no option, after the Armada disaster, than, as he wrote to Parma, "to yield to the extreme difficulty of the time and subscribe." Shortly thereafter the King appointed him, in place of Glamis, Captain of the guard, after which he and his faction continued to stay with the King in the Abbey. Efforts were then made by them to induce the

King to change all his chief officers of State; and although they did not succeed, they would have contrived, sooner or later, through Huntly's captaincy of the guard, to have "made themselves masters of the King's person," but for a sudden dramatic disclosure of their intentions.

While the King, on February 27th, was in the Tolbooth, with the Lords of Session, and accompanied by Huntly, Errol, Bothwell and others, as the Court was on the point of rising at noon, a packet was presented to him from Elizabeth containing intercepted letters of Bruce, Huntly, and Errol to Parma, urging that Philip should still send them a reinforcement of Spanish troops. Huntly and Errol seem to have denied their authenticity, and Lord Claude Hamilton, whom they compromised, denied that he was privy to them; but there is abundant other evidence of their continued communication with Parma; and indeed, on November 4th, 1588, Bruce even wrote that Huntly had authorised him, "in the presence of a sufficient number of witnesses, to write and assert in his name, that if our King will not consent to act well, he (Huntly) and others of his party wished to submit to the rule of his Catholic Majesty and his forces." Even the King perfectly well knew that they had dealings with Philip, as indeed he had had himself; but he deemed it politic to minimise the incident. Huntly had, necessarily, to "demit the guard;" but both he and Errol were shortly afterwards set at liberty. They lingered on for some time in Edinburgh, but, by the hostile attitude of the Protestant lords and the Edinburgh citizens, were compelled to leave for the north. Shortly afterwards, along with the Earl of Crawford, they collected a large force, on pretence of liberating the King, "held captive and forced against his mind;" but on the news that the King was advancing against them in person, they left Perth for Aberdeen, and when the King appeared near the Bridge of Dee, the bulk of Huntly's forces, undeceived as to the King's wishes, dispersed. Shortly afterwards Huntly, on the threat to burn Strathbogie Castle, surrendered and was brought a prisoner to Edinburgh; and Crawford came in to the King at Edinburgh. Bothwell, who had been hovering near Edinburgh, also came in. All three were con-

victed, their punishment being left to the King who ordered them into ward. Errol and others who came in during the King's progress in the north in July, were however "received in favour on composition;" and in September the imprisoned earls, in view of the expected arrival of Queen Anne from Denmark, received their liberty.

Proposals for the King's marriage to a Danish princess had been made as early as 1585, but a definite arrangement had been hindered by the intrigues of Elizabeth who latterly recommended the Princess of Navarre. The Princess Royal had therefore meanwhile been betrothed to the Duke of Brunswick; but there was the Princess Anne, who had the advantage over the Princess of Navarre in youth and beauty; and since a marriage with her would also settle the dispute as to the possession of the Orkneys, James decided to apply for her hand. On April 1588 an act had been passed imposing a tax of £10,000, for the charges of the marriage, "now appointed to be accomplished with all convenient expedition;" but it was not until June, 18th, 1589 that the Earl Marischal, who had undertaken on a scale of great magnificence the whole expenses of the embassy, set sail to make formal proposals for the marriage. On August 20th it was celebrated by proxy, and early in September the Queen with a fleet of twelve sail set out for Scotland; but after being, twice or thrice, within sixty miles of the Scottish coast, they were driven back by furious storms, and had to take refuge in a sound in Norway. Since eleven of the ships had to go home for repairs, the Queen could not get away from the "miserable place" until the spring, because, on account of the "preciseness" of the Danish commissions, the Queen could not be brought to Scotland with fewer ships than those appointed to convoy her. His bride's unpleasant predicament so moved the King that he determined to fetch her with his own ships; and the expenses demanded by Bothwell as high admiral being more than James could pay, Maitland offered that he and his friends would provide the ships. It was therefore fitting that Maitland should undertake the voyage; and the King decided also to go himself. His romantic resolve is usually attributed to

QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK.

From the Painting by Paul Van Somer in the Collection of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey.

eccentric impatience, but may he not have foreseen difficulties as to the transference of the Queen to his ships, and that the return might have to be deferred till Spring? Though he professedly hoped to be back within twenty days, he evidently contemplated the possibility of a longer absence. On October 22nd he embarked secretly, leaving behind him declarations of his arrangements, and also of his reasons for undertaking the voyage. Much has been made of some uncouth instances of lack of reticence in the documents; but in that rude society they would hardly provoke even a smile. Apart from the eccentricities, the declarations are characterized by much practical good sense; and the device of making Bothwell whip to the Council, or as the English ambassador Fowler put it, giving "the fox the geese to keep," worked quite satisfactorily, even if it did not prevent Bothwell from bribing certain witches to raise storms during the King's voyage from Denmark. The sudden departure of the King, at a late period of the year and during such tempestuous weather, gave cause for rumours of disaster, which not improbably found utterance in the ballad now known as "Sir Patrick Spens." Within six days he had, however, reached Norway in safety; and after the solemnization of the marriage on November 24th, he left on December 22nd for the Court of Denmark, where he passed the Spring months in festivities and rejoicings, in discussions with various learned Danes, and, as he himself puts it, "in drinking and driving our in the auld manner." On May 1st he arrived with the Queen at Leith; on Sunday, the 17th, she was crowned in the Abbey Kirk; and on Tuesday she made her state entry into Edinburgh with a redundancy of the customary ceremonial pageantry.

The destruction of the Armada tended greatly to simplify the policy of James and improve his relations with Elizabeth. It now became more certain that he had elected to stand by England and Protestantism. Moved also by his sapient vanity, he endeavoured to interest Elizabeth and the Princes of Germany in a grandiloquent scheme for a universal European peace; and although the scheme seemed merely Utopian, it drew from Elizabeth an expression of her high approval of his good intentions, and

a vow, on account thereof, always to assist him by her friendship. On another important subject—the supremacy of the sovereign in ecclesiastical matters—he and Elizabeth were entirely of one mind; and when Elizabeth sent him a protest against the Scottish clergy making “oraisons in their pulpits,” on behalf of the recalcitrant English Puritans, he at once directed that this should cease; and the English schismatic John Penry was also, on August 6th, commanded to “depart the realm.” Acting on Maitland’s advice, James was, however, also anxious to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of his own clergy. He patronised the meeting of the Assembly in August, and at its close “fell forth in praising God that he was born in such a time of the light of the gospel, to such a place as to be King in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world;” and he further declared that “as for our neighbour Kirk in England, it is an evil said mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings.” An appraisalment of themselves so accordant with their own excessive self-esteem, aroused among the clergy so wild a storm of enthusiasm “that there was nothing but loud praising of God and praying for the King for a quarter of an hour.” In accordance with his new policy, James was even induced to make no further attempt to deliver Archbishop Adamson—his chief helpmate in his Episcopal scheme—from Presbyterian clutches: but with cruel callousness even deprived him of his liferent, so that Adamson, in order to obtain sufficient pittance to keep himself in life, had to flatter his old enemies, Andrew and James Melville, by a comprehensive recantation: although Mr. David Black, who visited him on his deathbed, “found him as he lived senseless” (hardened). Finally, in order, it was said, to allay the storm of disapprobation on account of the tragic death of the Earl of Moray (see *post*), James arranged for the passing by the Parliament of June 1592 of an “act for abolishing of the actis contrair of the trew religion,” which provided for the establishment of an unhampered Presbyterianism. But this in no way disposed of the main question as to the respective spheres of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions; and indeed, immediately before the meeting of Parliament, the King

had a scene with Walter Balcanqual for declaiming against him in the pulpit, and also wished to have a special act passed giving "a commission to some special magistrates to pull the ministers out of the pulpits when they spake after that manner."

The religious despotism of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland derived from a revival in a new form of the old title to infallibility. The Scottish Protestant clergy claimed to be the divinely authorised interpreters of an infallible book. The pretensions of the King, in form as despotic as theirs, were not so in reality; for though asserting supremacy over the church, he could do so only by allowing a liberty of private interpretation of the Scriptures. The clash of the respective pretensions is well represented in the following dialogue :—"I think I have," said the King, "soverane judgment in all things within this realme." "There is a judgment above yours," said Mr. Robert Pont, "and that is God's, putt in the hand of the ministrie; for 'we sall judge the angels,' sayeth the Apostle." "Ye understand not that place weill, Mr. Robert," said the King, "howbeit yee be an old theologue." After Mr. Robert had discoursed upon the words, the King concluded that the judgment mentioned in that place "perteanned to everie sutor and taylor as weill as to the Kirk, and insulted."

But on one point James was in cordial agreement with the Kirk—the reality of witchcraft, and the possibility of personal communication with Satan in the present world. The enormous revival of this superstition is traceable to the perusal by all and sundry of the amazing narratives of the infallible book, and the importance attached by the clergy to the darker possibilities of the future world. In this twentieth century, it is impossible to realize the haunting dread, in the time of James, of the infernal arts of men and women, credited with having by definite paction sold their souls to Satan; though the greatness of the terror is sufficiently represented in the sacrifice to it of an indiscriminate holocaust of victims, against the majority of whom there was hardly more evidence than mere suspicion, or confessions wrung from them by torture, or the boastings of semi-lunatic vanity. Yet the practice was, no doubt, widely prevalent. Certain strong-

mind, but sinister, persons had no scruple in utilizing the superstition for their own personal advantage; some were so constituted as to cherish a secret pride in their evil reputation and the terror they inspired; and for others the superstition had the same attraction as the candle has for the moth.

If able, in extremity, boldly to face danger, James possessed a highly strung nervous temperament, which, owing to his experiences with the nobles, was easily alarmed by the rumours of possible attacks on his person; while his almost diseased curiosity in regard to the supernatural made him as easy a gull as the clergy, of the witchcraft superstition. When, therefore, he was solemnly informed that during his absence in Denmark, a sort of infernal presbytery of wizards and witches had been held, under the presidency of Satan at North Berwick, in order—though it would appear without effect—to raise storms on the seas during his voyage home, and that since then some of the same infernal agents had been approached by Bothwell in order to practise the taking away of his life, he felt that there was no time to be lost, if he was not to become the victim of their arts. Most of the winter of 1590-1, was therefore spent in the trial of witches and sorcerers. James intervened at the trials; and, being dissatisfied with the verdicts of the juries in certain cases, he himself held at Falkland on June 7th a special court for the trial of accused persons. Most of them deemed it safest to plead guilty and place themselves at his “will,” whereupon, proud of his supposed success as a witch-finder, he inveighed against those “who think these witchcrafts to be but fantasies.” Incidentally he also remarked that he had been “occupied these three quarters of a year for the sifting out of them that are guilty therein;” but his zeal seems to have caused no diminution, but the opposite, in their number; and it was, therefore, not surprising that on October 26th he appointed a special commission of “well-belovit” councillors, ministers and burgesses, for discovery of witches, with power of examination and putting to torture.

The trouble of the King with Bothwell was now, however, only beginning. On learning the charge against him, he had surrendered himself for trial, alleging, with specious enough logic, that the Devil’s sworn witches

were, like their father, necessarily liars. On April 16th, 1591, he was warded in Edinburgh Castle, but on June 21st made his escape. His aims are something of an enigma; but, possessed of the same daring and reckless disposition as his uncle the fourth earl, he could hardly, on any conditions, have lived a quiet life. His private grudge against the King began with the arrival of Lennox in Scotland; but the King had long a strong partiality for him; and it was not until the rise of Maitland, with whom the Hepburns from the time of Mary had a personal feud, that Bothwell became dangerous in his manifestations of discontent. Though he held the office of lord-high-admiral, he was far from satisfied with the consequence assigned him; and—as the King's cousin, though by left-handed descent—he probably deemed himself the second person in the kingdom. Maitland's predominance doubled the insult to his pretensions; and as he brooded over his wrongs, his giddy and lawless brain may even have been visited by dreams of ousting James from the sovereignty. The first signs, after his conspiracy with Huntly, that he still meant mischief, was his offer, during the absence of James in Denmark, to make his “publict repentance” to the clergy, which he did on November 9th in the great and little Kirks of Edinburgh; and although this made no change in his disreputable life, the Kirk, regarding him as a convenient rod for the back of James, gave his lawless feats its indirect approval.

On his own confession, Bothwell had more than a passing acquaintance with the wizard Richard Graham; and according to a statement of his political associate Colville, after they had quarrelled, he did actually bargain to procure his arts against the King. At any rate, Bothwell knew that his acquaintanceship with Graham would almost in itself be sufficient to condemn him; and driven thus to extremity, he had recourse to a succession of “alarms and excursions,” which, in view of his reputed association with notorious sorcerers, created in James a superstitious dread that was not amenable to persuasion. Bothwell asserted that his original traducer was Maitland, who compared with him and other “ancient cedars” (of the nobility) was he said, but a “puddock stool of a night.”

Though denounced a rebel, he continued to live a charmed life. On July 23rd a proclamation was made at the Cross of Edinburgh against furnishing him with meat and drink; but, animated by his potations after supping with some friends on the 26th in Leith, he boldly appeared at the Nether Bow, and threw down a forty-shilling piece to any one who would be his messenger to the chancellor to come and take him. Denuded of his honours on the August 4th, he on the evening of December 27th made a bold attempt, with a band of Border desperadoes, to seize Maitland the chancellor in Holyrood Palace. Their entrance was effected by a backway very suddenly and cleverly; but the chancellor escaped to his inner chamber, and before the door could be broken up, an inroad of the citizens roused by the common bell, caused the conspirators hastily to retire—though not before a few of them were captured. This led, on January 10th, 1591-2, to the offer of a reward to any who should kill him; but he nevertheless continued to hover round Edinburgh; and on the 13th, while in the pursuit of him eastwards towards Haddington, the King was almost drowned by riding into a deep boggy pool.

The adventures of Bothwell had an indirect relation to a tragic occurrence on February 8th, 1591-2, which thrilled Scotland with a shock of horror. This was the death of the “bonnie Earl of Moray,” of the popular ballad. Moray was the cousin german and friend of Bothwell and had been one of his cautioners; and it was suspected or pretended that he was encouraging him in his plots. He had lately come south to Doniebristle in Fife, according to his enemies with a view to aid Bothwell, but according to the diarist Moysie and others, because he had been enticed hither with a view of being reconciled to Huntly. However that may be, Huntly, knowing that he was there, left Holyrood on February 7th with a strong band of followers, and crossing the firth in boats that were in readiness at Queensferry, they, after calling in vain on Moray to surrender, set fire to his castle. To save his life, Moray, who was of great strength and stature, suddenly rushed through the flames sword in hand, and breaking the cordon, outpaced his pursuers and took refuge in a cave, whither,

however, he was traced by the burning plume of his helmet, and savagely butchered. The murder was probably the result of a band between Maitland and Huntly, in which the death of Argyll was also contemplated. Huntly asserted that he had the King's authority to capture him; but the King denied all knowledge of Huntly's intention, though the general warrant against supporters of Bothwell justified the apprehension of Moray on suspicion. It was inevitable, however, that popular opinion should deem the tragic occurrence an act of deliberate revenge. For the balladist the introduction of a love motive was also of importance; and since the Queen was evidently desirous to make the most of this opportunity of ruining Maitland she supplied occasion for the rumour that she had a partiality for Moray. Though Captain Gordon and his servant were on February 12th hanged for the murder, the King took measures to screen Huntly, who was of great help to him against Bothwell. Calderwood prints a letter of the King warning Huntly to look out for his own preservation. It may be genuine or not, but Huntly before he agreed to enter into Blackness had an interview with the King at Linlithgow; and on March 21st he was released on finding sureties to return when required.

Meanwhile Bothwell—who to add to the bad odour in which Maitland now found himself, had sent to his “loving Brethren, the Ministrie and Eldership of Edinburgh,” a stinging indictment of his whole career—was keeping the King in a constant state of nervous dread, now by bold attempts to capture him, as at Falkland on June 20th, now by efforts to appear before him as a suppliant. For bringing him in the latter character to Dalkeith palace on August 1st, the young laird of Logie, “a varlet in the King's chamber,” was confined to a room in Holyrood Palace; but with the connivance of his sweetheart, a Danish waiting woman of the Queen, he made his escape very much after the manner celebrated in the ballad, “the Laird of Logie.” On the King setting out in pursuit of Bothwell, he passed into England; but as the King withdrew he returned almost on his heels, though a general search for him in Edinburgh proved fruitless. On November 17th his Countess encountered the King at the

Castle gate and sued for mercy on her and her spouse, but this only moved the King to issue on the 20th a special proclamation against admitting Bothwell to his presence. The clergy even feared that the King, in his straits, might be minded to restore Arran—who had been sent for to “give articles and points of dittay against the Chancellor and the Lord Hamilton”—but if so, the loud alarm of the clergy made him change his mind. Soon afterwards Bothwell, after affixing a farewell “advertisement to the ministers of Edinburgh” on the Kirk door, went south to England.

On December 27th George Kerr—brother of Mark, Lord Newbattle, afterwards first Earl of Lothian—was seized at the Cumbræ as he was about to set sail for Spain; and on him was found a treasonable correspondence between certain Jesuits and others, and also certain blank papers on which were signatures and seals of Angus, Errol, Huntly and Patrick Gordon of Auchindown. According to Kerr and Graham of Fintry, the blank spaces were to be filled in in Spain, in terms of an agreement which Father Crichton was empowered to make for the despatch of troops and money to Scotland; and that their confessions were true is proved by a message brought to Philip by Father Cecil. If not so complete in detail, the discovery was quite as alarming as that of 1588; and since it threatened to deprive the King of the help of the Catholic earls against Bothwell, he was now in a very difficult dilemma. If he knew that among the Kerr papers was a memorandum of his own, he would be still more puzzled how to comport himself, though the aim of the memorandum was probably merely to keep the Catholic earls on his hook with vague promises, so that he might have their protection against the great Bothwell terror. In this he so far succeeded, that the Catholics believed him to be of “no religion or fixed purpose;” but on that very account the first step in their enterprise was to be his capture. James may not have been informed of the discovery of the memorandum, and the historian Calderwood only knew of it from John Davison’s diary, though a copy found its way to England; but since the Catholic earls enjoyed his friendship, James had (1) to dissipate the idea that he had any connection with the enterprise,

(2) to hinder its being carried out, and (3) to prevent the ruin, and retain the goodwill, of the Catholic earls.

The find was a magnificent one for the clergy, and they made the most of it, with a view to concuss the King into a drastic course of action against the Catholics. A prescription concocted by them for this purpose was submitted to him by a deputation; but their gratuitous advice was by no means relished, and he pertinently "upbraided them for meeting so haistily now, when as they were so slow to assemble, at his desire, when his life was in danger." Still, he tactfully excused their conduct, in that he "knew that they did it for love of the good cause;" and he was professedly as indignant at the conspiracy as they could desire. Very strenuous acts were passed against the attempts to "subvert the true religion." Angus, apprehended on January 2nd, James denounced as "a traitor of traitors;" Graham of Fintry on February 15th was beheaded; and Huntly, Errol and Patrick Gordon, were summoned to appear on February 5th before the Council at St. Andrews; but virtually nothing more was done to punish the conspiracy. Angus escaped, and joined Huntly and Errol in the north; Kerr, who had been granted his life, also succeeded in getting free; and the northern earls virtually defied James with impunity. On February 17th he set out against them in person; but since they retreated into Caithness he had to content himself with appointing Atholl and Marischal lieutenants in the north, and a temporary seizure of the Earls' territories: as Lord Burgh put it, he merely "dissembled confiscation." On March 19th the earls were relaxed from the horn, and summoned to appear before Parliament; but offers having been made in July to satisfy the King and Kirk, they were not defaulted. James explained to Elizabeth that he was advised by the Lord Advocate that there was insufficient evidence to convict. There was in fact only the word of Kerr; but their acquittal had no doubt been previously determined on.

From a letter of Elizabeth to James, it would appear that Bothwell had been making overtures to secure her intercession for him with James, as one able to reveal the secrets of the Spanish plots. The memorandum of

James may have suggested to her that James was better informed about the plots than Bothwell; but it must also have confirmed her purpose to encourage Bothwell in his contumacy. She urged James, with perhaps a secret sense of mischief, to "rake" the treason "to the bottom" and advised him also to "trust Bowes in the rest as myself." But James had already rated Bowes as to Elizabeth's countenance of Bothwell, and he now adroitly reminded him that he was greatly in need of money. He also represented to Elizabeth (1) that, since it was as much her interest to thwart the designs of Spain in Scotland as in the Low Countries, she ought to lend him substantial aid in this, and (2) that she could not expect him to follow her advice in regard to the Catholic earls, until she followed his in regard to Bothwell. This last was a palpable hit, for at that very time, Lord Burgh was busy conspiring with Bothwell against him. Dread of Bothwell and the refusal of Elizabeth to give Bothwell up, compelled James to deal leniently with the Catholic earls; while his apparently sympathetic attitude towards them incited Elizabeth to encourage Bothwell, who, through Scrope, was threatening that unless she supported him, he would join the Catholic earls. Elizabeth instructed Scrope that he should be publicly disowned but secretly encouraged. To "satisfy the King for the time," Bothwell was therefore on June 13th proclaimed at Carlisle Cross; and on July 20th Scrope and Foster were instructed to proclaim that none on pain of their lives should receive him; but, by the time they received her message, Bothwell was in Scotland. He was probably in Edinburgh before sentence of forfeiture was passed on him on July 21st; and on the 24th he took strong measures to have it nullified. Aided by the Countess of Atholl, who had just left the Queen, he, along with John Colville, got access to Holyrood by the backgate of the passage to the Gowrie mansion. In the morning the King, as he was returning to his bedroom in his nightshirt, was therefore transfixed by beholding him kneeling in the room with a drawn sword in front of him. By this he meant to symbolise that, though the King was in his power, he did not intend to take his life; but the King could hardly be

expected to recognise at once the meaning of the symbolism, and therefore sought to escape to the Queen's chamber. Finding the door locked, he faced the intruders, firmly declaring that they, associates of wizards as he supposed them to be, might take his life, but "they would not get his soul." The appearance of Lennox, Mar, Atholl, Ochiltree and others probably convinced him, however, that no wizardry was intended; and he agreed to listen to Bothwell's story. To stay the alarm of the townspeople, he appeared at the window and assured them that all was well; and it was finally agreed that Bothwell should leave the court until after his trial for witchcraft, which was fixed for August 10th. On the 26th an act of remission was passed to him and his associates for their untimely intrusion, after which he proceeded to Berwick, and while informing Carey of the devotion of Lennox and Atholl to Elizabeth, stated that the northern earls, Lords Hamilton and Hume, Glamis, Maitland and Lord Maxwell were all laying their heads together against him; and he therefore desired the reinforcement of "100 foot and 100 horse for a month or two." Obtaining a safe conduct from Carey, he also introduced himself to the Dean of Durham, to whom he bragged of his ability to resist the designs of Spain in Scotland. The Dean describes him as a "rare man without doubt," either as friend or foe, and as having "a wonderfull witt and as wonderful a volubilitie of tongue, as Habilitie and agilitie of bodie on horse and foote."

After obtaining in England some horses and hounds as a peace offering to the King, Bothwell returned to Edinburgh to stand his trial. Elizabeth pretended sharply to rebuke Carey for having received him; and wrote to James that she could scarce credit the news "that they were in your bosom, whom I have heard from yourself your heart abhorred." But by this time she was more than doubtful of the success of Bothwell's *coup*, and in more dread than ever of the Catholic combination. As early as August 2nd, Bothwell himself knew of "a union intended by her Majestie between the Popisshe and Protestant parties" in Scotland. With this pretence Bowes was endeavouring to sound Huntly; and, according to James, Elizabeth had also, through Sir Robert Melville, communicated a "secret

and friendly message" to him, that if he could not pursue the Catholic earls with vigour, she would like to advise with him "what conditions of surety might be taken of them." On October 7th she however wrote : — "Old Melvin hath told you a piece of a tale and left out the principal;" and explained that her meaning was merely that she had a right to be considered. In the same letter she pretended to rate James for pardoning Bothwell, and, with some sarcastic flavour, suggested that he should test his sincerity by sending him to pursue Huntly.

Since the Bothwell jury were of his faction, his acquittal was inevitable; and the King knowing that he would be virtually in Bothwell's custody, arranged with Home and Glamis to escape to Falkland early in the morning of the day after the trial; but a messenger passing through the court was apprehended, at the instance of Bothwell, as he was conveying a letter from the King to Home. Hastening to the royal apartments, Bothwell found the King preparing to set out, and impudently proposed that, before he did so, he should entrust the duty of providing for the peace of the country to Atholl in the north and himself in the south. This was more than the King could pretend to tolerate; and Bothwell, whose overweening ambition was beginning, perhaps, to alarm his friends, was finally induced to agree to a fatal compromise. He and his associates were to be restored to their estates and honours, the restoration to be ratified by Parliament in November; and, until then, both Maitland and his faction, including Home and Glamis, were to leave the court, as were also Bothwell and his associates, including Atholl and also Ochiltree, who thus ceased to be captain of the guard.

Though Lennox, as a Stewart, had done his best to secure Bothwell's pardon, he had no wish that the King should be in Bothwell's power; and now that Lennox and Hamilton were reconciled, there was, with the addition of Mar and Morton, the nucleus of a middle party to afford the King temporary refuge, on the one hand, from the embraces of Bothwell and the Kirk, and on the other from the tender mercies of Huntly and the Catholics. At a convention, nominally of the Estates—but virtually only of this middle party—held at Stirling September 13th, the King asked

whether he was bound by the promises extorted by Bothwell; and being assured that he was not, a "memorial" was sent to Bothwell bearing that the King, being now "at full liberty," was prepared to fulfil his former promise, on condition that Bothwell found surety, within six days of its ratification, to go abroad and remain there during the King's pleasure. Meanwhile he and his associates were not to come within ten miles of the King. Shortly thereafter, the King was joined by Maitland's and Lord Home's faction which now, in a manner, coalesced with the middle party. All this was very alarming to the clergy, for—besides that it foreboded the loss of their most obstreperous champion—Home, a Catholic, and Maitland, of doubtful belief, were in close touch with the northern earls. The Melvilles therefore induced the provincial synod of Fife to excommunicate Angus, Huntly, Errol and Home, their preposterous claim to jurisdiction over them being that formerly they had been students at St. Andrews, and that some of them had been married in Fife!

On learning that on October 4th, Atholl had come south to Stirling, the King sent a messenger charging him to depart. Atholl left for Doune, taking the messenger with him; and as the messenger did not return, Lord Home followed and took prisoner Montrose and young Gowrie—who were there with Atholl in some force—Atholl making his escape. As they gave a plausible explanation of their gathering, they were set free, but the sequel showed that they had been meditating the capture of the King. After the episode the King returned to Edinburgh, and on the 12th, set out for Thirlestane—the castle of Maitland—whence he proceeded south, mainly to demolish the houses of Ker of Ferniehirst and other supporters of Bothwell. But the most striking, and, perhaps even to James, most startling, incident of the journey, was the sudden appearance, probably by arrangement with Maitland, of a small body of horsemen near Fala. They proved to be Huntly, Errol and Angus, with ten attendants each; and as the King's cavalcade approached, the three earls left their horses and their escort to precede them, and walked on foot until the King overtook them, when they knelt down, craving that he should either

pardon them or name a time and place for their trial. Though he at first turned from them in real or seeming anger, he was at last persuaded by Home and Glamis to name the 24th of the month at Perth. Thereupon, the clergy summoned a convention of their own for the 17th at Edinburgh, when commissioners were sent to the King at Jedburgh to ask him to "cause that order should be taken with the excommunicated." The King told them that a convention would be held at Linlithgow to consider the matter. This was virtually to postpone the trial at Perth; but on the excuse that the Catholic earls might appear at Linlithgow in force, the "brethern" thought fit to summon the Protestant barons and gentlemen to appear in arms in Edinburgh against the day of the assize. As however the King sent orders to the Catholic earls to remain at Perth, the "brethern" decided merely to send a commission to Linlithgow, "to the great grief," says Calderwood, "of those that looked for more round dealing." The "round dealing" was a plot, with the assistance of Bothwell, for the capture of the King. Bothwell having, for failing to appear before the Council on the 25th, been denounced a rebel, was again ready for any desperate enterprise; but the prudent policy of the King deprived the brethren of an excuse for joining him. It was decided that the case of the earls should be remitted to a special commission; and on November 2nd a proclamation was made, the effect of which was to suspend the secular consequences of their excommunication until their case was decided.

At the instance of the commission an act of Parliament was passed on November 26th, declaring that the earls should "be free and unaccusable in time coming" of the charge against them, on condition that before February 1st, 1593-4, they either renounced Popery or left the Kingdom, their decision as to their intention to be made by January 1st. That in either case they were to retain their estates and property, was resented by the clergy as a defiance of their act of excommunication; and though the King pointed out its irregularity, Robert Bruce prophesied from the pulpit that the King's reign "should be troublesome and short, if he abolished not the Act of Abolition." To Elizabeth, James explained

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

From the Painting in the Collection of Viscount Dillon at Ditchley, Enstone, Oxfordshire.

that he was influenced by the "uncertainty and peril" of a formal trial; but the points of view of the two sovereigns were widely different. James wished to retain his independence of action towards Elizabeth by holding the balance even between the rival factions of his kingdom, while Elizabeth was moved mainly by the haunting dread of his rival claims to her crown. She now knew that her attempts to lure the earls from their intrigues with Spain were hopeless, and that a new Spanish enterprise was already meditated. Their half-toleration by James looked like connivance, and she therefore sent him by Lord Zouch a letter in her own hand, taunting him with merely giving the earls a license to visit foreign countries, and adding that if he chose to tread his present path, she would indeed pray for him but leave him to his harms. But by this time the letter had lost its sting, for the earls had failed to accept the terms of James. On January 31st, they were therefore charged to enter into ward, and failing to do so they were, on March 8th, sentenced to forfeiture. It was, in fact, extremely inconvenient for them to take advantage of what Elizabeth regarded as a friendly "license," for they were then in the thick of negotiations for reinforcements from Spain. No sooner, indeed, had Kerr's treasonable papers been seized, than they sent an urgent request for 3,000 Spanish foot soldiers to be sent either to the south or west of Scotland; and during the winter and spring, they were busy with arrangements for the intended enterprise.

The birth of Prince Henry, February 19th, 1593-4, suggested to Bothwell the idea of purloining the infant; but Elizabeth, though desirous to use Bothwell for "the suppression of the partisans of Spain," declined to countenance any violence of that kind. Relying however on her general goodwill, he recruited in Northumberland a hundred horsemen, when as they were about to join him, they were, to his great "amaze and grief," forbidden by Foster to do so. His new movement was to be on a formidable scale: south of the Forth he had the support of Ochiltree and many Borderers, while Atholl with 2,000 men was to join him from the north. But his preparations could not be concealed; and in view of them

the King and Council on March 27th, gave Home—now a professed Protestant—Cessford and Buccleugh, a commission jointly or severally for his pursuit. At Kelso the three had a rendezvous; and immediately thereafter Cessford and Buccleugh proceeded south, while Home returned towards Edinburgh. Hardly had they separated, when Bothwell entered the town with 60 English horsemen, and was joined by 600 Scottish Borderers. By April 3rd, he was at Leith where Ochiltree joined him with 1,200 horsemen. But either Atholl—who, on March 31st, had been commanded to dissolve his forces—failed to keep his tryst, or, as the diarist Moysie states, Bothwell could not get boats to convey his own men across the Firth; and as the royal forces threatened to surround him, he retreated by the back of Arthur's Seat and Niddry-Marischal, behind Edmondstone Edge. While the pursuers, not suspecting he was so near, were advancing in loose order, he suddenly charged down the hill, and drove them towards Craigmillar, near to which the King was in position; but without attacking the King, he recalled his men and retired on Dalkeith, whence he retreated to Kelso and disbanded his followers. The causes of failure were (1) the absence of Atholl, and (2) the support obtained by the King from the town of Edinburgh, by pledging himself to do his utmost against the excommunicated lords.

As the avowed purpose of Bothwell was to compel the King to pursue Huntly, and to offer his assistance against the Spaniards, whose arrival, he asserted, was "certainely expected to be within few days," both Bothwell and Elizabeth were now in rather a predicament. Taunting her with having allowed the "avowed traitor," to "convene his forces within England in the sight of all that border," James protested that, unless she restrained Bothwell, she would be responsible for the non-pursuit of the earls. The taunt told; for though Elizabeth denied all connection with Bothwell, Cecil, at her request, gave him to understand that further attempts against James should be postponed until the middle of May. Bothwell thereupon agreed to keep quiet as long as Elizabeth wished; and would have liked to have made his peace with James by an arrangement to assist him against the earls. But the King was less anxious for their ruin than the ruin of Bothwell.

After Bothwell's retreat, the King summoned forces to meet him at Dundee on April 29th and at Aberdeen on May 2nd. He also "propounded" to the Presbytery of Edinburgh that they should advise how Bothwell's incursions were to be prevented, while he (the King) was engaged against the Catholic earls; but, instead of solving the conundrum, they answered that they "would pray for him." The King doubted the efficacy of this; and, without a guarantee from them against the designs of Bothwell, he had a plausible excuse for at least delay. Even the horsemen lately waged for his special defence, he could not perfectly trust, for when, at their review at Leith, he asked them to swear that they would serve him faithfully, the most part answered that they would serve God and him. Of the intentions of the "brethern" he was rendered still more distrustful by their attitude towards John Ross, minister of Perth, a kinsman of Bothwell, who had affirmed that the King was "likely to fill out the number of his predecessors who have been extraordinarily tayne away." The Assembly in May thought there was even cause "for a sharper rebuke and threatening of heavy judgements," and approved his "haill doctrine," except "in sic heiddis as seameth to be most offensive:" but even could the King have given Ross credit for purely angelic motives, such language from a salaried servant of the State was intolerable; and Ross was very properly deprived of his citizenship and banished the realm.

The King was also aware that Elizabeth had not ceased to patronise Bothwell; and in fact there was distrust all round. Ochiltree, denounced as a rebel, had taken refuge in England, and on May 15th, he with Bothwell, Colville and others met at Hexham hoping to receive "some more light" from Elizabeth. Elizabeth was holding them in leash until she had more certain knowledge of the purposes of James; but they were becoming very restive, and seem to have been making overtures for peace with the King by "compounding with Huntly," whom the King was supposed secretly to favour. The King now announced that instead of "plaster and medicine" he intended to use "fire" against the earls, whose excommunication had now been ratified by the Assembly, and who had been forfaulted by Par-

liament; but, so little did such fulminations disturb them, they were said to be living in great "jollity," Huntly even being busy with additions to his castle. Indeed Richard Douglas was informing his uncle that, though Angus might be punished, no harm was intended against the other two.

At this critical time, the Pope, if we are to believe the Catholic nobles, sent to Scotland Juan de Saperes, with instructions to offer the King a subsidy of 4,000 ducats a month to avenge the death of his mother, or otherwise another subsidy of 1,000 a month if he would agree to allow the Catholics liberty of Conscience; but the King declined both offers. According also to an anonymous and untrustworthy document, the Pope actually sent 4,000 ducats in the Spanish ship which arrived in Aberdeen on July 10th; but the Catholic lords, knowing they had nothing to hope for from James used it to pay their own soldiers. In any case, Father James Gordon left this ship during the night with certain packets, and on August 5th, he gave a receipt for money sent to behoof of the earls. Three passengers on board were on the morning after the ship's arrival placed in ward; but by the threats of Huntly were set at liberty. The significance of the ship's arrival may have been better understood by James than even by the "brethern;" and on July 22nd, he appealed to them to do their utmost to induce the nation to arm against "the enemies of the true religion." In this way he hoped for an extra levy of 600 footmen and 400 horsemen. On the 25th, a commission of lieutenancy in the north was also issued to Argyll, Atholl and Lord Forbes, for the "repression of Jesuits and other traitors;" but this was probably intended as a precaution against any southward movement of the Catholic earls; and nothing was done until after the baptism of the Prince at Stirling on August 30th.

Bothwell, who had been offered 20,000 crowns from the earls, had proposed to Elizabeth that he should both accept the offer and betray them; but, since she now ceased to encourage him, he was preparing to join them. Though Colville described either of two schemes—one, the overthrow of Maitland by the aid of Lennox, the other, the capture of the King during the chase at Falkland—as "very likely," they failed to come

off; and, before the baptism, Bothwell had met the earls at the church of Menmuir and completed arrangements for a united plot. It was deferred, however, until after the baptism, which was celebrated in peace and with great splendour and rejoicing. That the ceremony was performed by a bishop, gave some umbrage to the clergy, who were also exercised by the King wearing the badge of the Knights of the Holy Spirit at the sports; but the acuteness of the political crisis did not permit of the customary threatening of "heavy judgements;" for active preparations against the earls were at last in full progress. The zeal both of the King and clergy may have been quickened by the discovery—through the apprehension of Orme, a servant of Bothwell—of the band signed between Bothwell and the earls, for the capture of the King and his imprisonment in Blackness. It was afterwards revealed that their purpose was to crown the young prince and inaugurate a regency of the Catholic earls. The discovery of the plot led Bothwell to inform his patrons, the clergy, that temporary stress of fortune compelled him to join Huntly; but he hinted that he was doing so in their interests, and "promised never to decline from religion." Though the clergy uttered no word of warning or rebuke to their straying brother, he could hardly expect their direct approval of his consorting with the champions of the "Beast;" and even John Colville, his go-between with England, deemed it time to renounce his fellowship. While remaining, as before, an English spy, Colville now, by revelations against Bothwell, made his peace with James, to whom he wrote a letter so peculiarly loathsome in its fulsome and flowery penitence, that one wonders why James did not hand him over at once, without mercy, to the officers of the law.

On September 18th, a new proclamation was issued for a muster for the northern expedition; and at the request of the clergy, Argyll also undertook to march against the earls in advance of the King's force; but, on October 3rd, he was completely defeated after a desperate and bloody contest at Glenrinnies in Glenavon. Meanwhile, the King, after arranging with Buccleugh and Cessford against a rising in the south, set out on the 4th, in person, having, besides a large force of Protestant townsmen, the com-

pany of Andrew and James Melville and other "brethern," that they might be witness of his prowess in the great Protestant crusade. Unhappily, however, no opportunity was given of putting his qualities to the test. After their hardly won victory over Argyll, the earls were not disposed to meet an augmented foe; and preferred at least to await their hoped-for reinforcements from Spain. Since they therefore retired to the far north, the King could do no more, by way of gratifying the vengeful passions of the clergy, than demolish the earls' castles; and, as Calderwood expresses it, "when all was done, there was little sound meaning and small effect." On November 7th, Lennox, brother-in-law of Huntly, was appointed lieutenant in the north; and the King even promised Huntly full pardon if he would deliver up Bothwell; but this Huntly honourably declined to do. Finally Lennox obtained from him and Errol bands to go abroad, which they did in March, Lennox to whom their lands had been given by way of factory, making their wives "intrometters" therewith. As Richard Douglas had surmised, no harm was intended to them: the "loss and strathe" fell on Angus, with whose lands the Duke's chamberlains "intrometted." But if the King only "wanted a show of obedience" from the Catholic earls, he wanted much more in the case at least of Bothwell. Though in the character of their "loving brother in Christ," Bothwell now expressed his willingness to receive the "brethern's" corrections, they had hardly other option than, on February 18th, to agree to his excommunication. This was of course a fatal calamity to him; and, after lurking some time in Caithness, "not knowing whom to trust," he was, by the kindness of an old acquaintance conveyed to Newhaven in Normandy; and latterly becoming a Spanish pensioner, this too zealous Protestant interested himself in various schemes "for establishing the Catholic religion in Scotland."

The political lull that followed Bothwell's flight was broken by a kind of royal domestic brawl. What truth there may have been in the Queen's reputed partiality for Lennox is hard to tell; nor is there anything to show that this had any connection with her discontent at Mar's guardianship of the young Prince, whom she now wished to be placed in the

LUDOVIC STUART, SECOND DUKE OF LENNOX.
From the Painting in the Collection of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey.



care of Buccleugh in Edinburgh Castle. To aid her in this, she had recourse to Maitland, and rumour magnified the intrigue into some kind of conspiracy against the King; but Spottiswoode is probably correct in stating that, though Maitland favoured the scheme, "it was ever with a reservation of his Majesty's pleasure." The King, however, resented Maitland's interference, and declined to insult the Erskines, by depriving them of their hereditary privileges as guardians of the royal heir. His estrangement from the King is supposed to have hastened Maitland's death at Thirlestane on October 3rd. On learning of his illness, the King expressed the hope that he would not be spoiled of him "so untimely;" and promised that if he died he would make his wife and posterity "a vive representation" of his "thankful memory." He also eulogised his talents and virtues in a sonnet which was inscribed on his tomb. But immensely indebted though he had been to Maitland's masterly guidance, he now came to discern that he had been little more than his ward, and is credited with having stated that he "would weel ken who next should have the seals, and was resolved no more to use great men or chancellors in his affairs, but such as he could correct and were hangable."

In accordance with the King's policy of not being too dependent on one official, and also with a view to the reform of his very deranged finances, a commission of exchequer was, on January 9th, 1595-6, appointed, consisting of eight persons, now known as the Octavians. They virtually controlled the Privy Council, and so ample were their powers in regard to all kinds of financial abuses, the disbursement of money, and the appointment to subordinate offices, that many affirmed "that the King had left nothing to himself but the naked title of a King, and put all his power and means in the hands of others, so as subjects were to expect no benefit nor reward from him." In the selection of the commission the King manifested great shrewdness—all being admirable men of business, and some of high mark; but the more resolutely and effectively they discharged their delicate duties, the more certain were they to provoke hostility. The nobility were naturally jealous of their powers; and their sharp enquiry into abuses

aroused much alarm and wrath, especially among the "cubicular courtiers." The clergy also watched the doings of the commission with extreme suspicion, for several, and notably Seton, afterwards Earl of Dunfermline, Elphinstone, and Hamilton, afterwards Earl of Melrose and finally Earl of Haddington, were reputed Catholics, and none of the others were marked partisans of the Kirk : it was even supposed that "great alteration in the Kirk" was portended by the commission's appointment.

The next most talked-of incident of this Spring was the deliverance of the famous Border reiver, "Kinmont Willie," from Carlisle Castle by Scott of Buccleugh. The splendid feat is the theme of a Border ballad, only known in Scott's finely modernised version. Brilliant though it was, it was probably justifiable neither by morality nor law. Still it was held, though erroneously, by the Scots, that the English warden had been technically in the wrong in arresting Willie Armstrong; and patriotic enthusiasm was so excited, that the King would probably have refused Elizabeth any satisfaction, but for the advisability, at this particular juncture, of convincing her of his friendliness. Though declining to deliver up Buccleugh, he therefore sent him into ward at St. Andrews until November.

The King, when at the height of his dilemma in regard to the Catholic earls and Bothwell, had resolved to make use of James Melville in soothing the too choleric uncle, and smoothing over the difficulties with the Kirk; and thus the nephew, after a visit to the King at Stirling in June 1594 as one of a Kirk deputation, returned to Edinburgh, as he humorously remarked, "a great courteour, yea a cabinet counsellour." The King's present policy was to go as far as possible in conciliating the prejudices of the clergy, in order that, trusting to his seemingly good intentions, they might be less inclined to hamper him in critical matters of policy. Evidence of this was given in a scene with Andrew Melville and Balfour of Burleigh, when David Black, minister of St. Andrews, was, on Balfour's accusation, summoned to Falkland for having in the pulpit spoken disrespectfully of the King's mother. When Melville was even overbearing the King "with greater bauldness and force of language," and insisting on the superior

jurisdiction of Christ as represented by himself, the King finally interposed with "gentill terms and mirrie talk," saying "they" (Melville and Balfour) "war bathe little men, and thair hart was at their mouth." The dispute was thus peaceably arranged, Black apologising if he had used language "offensive to his Majesty." Indeed so deferential was now the attitude of the King towards the Kirk, that the Kirk seemed at last, to have, in the words of Calderwood, "come to her perfection."

One reason for the truce with the Kirk was the common danger of a Spanish invasion, which the King had reason to suppose might be attempted in the summer. That all might be ready to combine against the common enemy, he also gave order for the repression of deadly feuds, and entreated the Borderers to do their utmost to maintain the peace, and increase the friendship, between them and their English neighbours. All this seems patent proof that, whatever the King's connection with the mysterious proposals of Ogilvy of Pourie to the Pope and Spain, he had no intention of allowing himself to be made the tool of Philip.

The Spanish invasion question gave occasion, however, to dissolve the harmony between James and the Kirk. At the March Assembly in 1596, he proposed that the clergy should arrange for a general money contribution for the defence of the kingdom; but this was met by the suggestion that the property of the exiled earls should be devoted to this purpose; and thus the question of how to deal with the earls became a burning one. Moreover the conciliatory attitude of James had encouraged the clergy to be more assertive than ever in interfering with the public and private conduct of every individual of the nation. As they were, therefore, now proposing to consider "the true and right taking up the sins of our princes and magistrates, superior and inferior, and on the sound means to deal with them dutifully and faithfully," etc., the King "required that no preacher would inveigh against him or his council publicly, but to come to him or them privily and tell what is the offence." Nevertheless, the Assembly proceeded not merely to a public discussion and conclusions regarding the "corruptions and enormities of the ministry" — which were astounding

enough — “and of all estates within the realme,” but more especially singled out the offences in “His Majesty’s House,” including the frequent omission “of the reading of the Word at table and reverend saying of the grace before and after meat,” “banning and swearing,” more particularly by his Majesty, and dancing and like frivolities on the part of the Queen. Indeed the whole proceeding of this Assembly, which Calderwood terms the last of “the sincere Assemblies General of the Kirk of Scotland,” was insufferably arrogant. Still, the King was not disinclined to give them rope, in the hope of a reasonable compromise in the case of the exiled earls. At a convention at Falkland on August 12th, it was resolved that they should be permitted to return on satisfying the King and Kirk; but it having been reported shortly afterwards that they had returned secretly, Andrew Melville appeared before James at Falkland, as a deputy from a commission of the Assembly that had met at Cupar. “Speaking,” so writes his nephew, “as from the Mighty God,” Melville declared that James was but “God’s sillie vassal,” that is, the weak vassal of the Kirk; and, in effect, that it was for the Kirk, and not for James, to say whether the earls should return. Melville was perfectly right in his suspicion that James wished to be served “with all sorts of men,” that the Kirk might not have him altogether in the hollow of its hand; but, for that reason, James restrained his temper admirably, and dismissed the deputation pleasantly with the assurance that the earls “sould gett na grace at his hand, till they had satisfied the Kirk.” It may have been on his advice that Lady Huntly made offers of this character to the Synod of Moray on October 19th.

On account of the return of the earls, the Kirk “ordained” a public humiliation to be kept throughout the country on the first Sunday of December; but, before this could be accomplished, the situation became further complicated by the accusation of David Black of “irreverent, reproachful and infamous remarks” in his sermons against the King and Queen of Scotland and Queen Elizabeth. Some time before this, the King, provoked at the protests of the clergy against the presence of Lady Huntly at the baptism of Princess Elizabeth, stipulated (1) that if a preacher intended

to "speak of his effaires of Stat and counsell," he should first inform him of what he intended to say; (2) that no General Assembly should be convened without his special command; (3) that, as in Parliament so in the Assembly, nothing should be "holden firm and stable" until it was ratified by him; and (4) that the ecclesiastical courts should in no way meddle in civil matters. In thus "redding the marches of the jurisdictions," the King was not constitutionally far astray; for the Reformed ecclesiastical polity was legal only so far as it had been sanctioned by the King and Parliament; but since the Scottish clergy claimed to be members of a divinely appointed organization, and to be divinely authorised, not merely to invite, but to compel, every one to think and believe and act in almost every particular as they prescribed, we may imagine their amazement and perturbation at this endeavour of James to take their bit between his teeth. The case of David Black thus became a test case, on the decision of which depended the future status of the Kirk in its relation to the State. Under the direction of the Assembly's commissioners, Black denied the jurisdiction of the King and Council, on the ground that the utterances objected to were spoken in the pulpit. He did not wholly disclaim the right of the civil courts to interfere, but he insisted that the ecclesiastical courts must first do so. This has puzzled some historians; but it was virtually a mere quibble. Should the ecclesiastical court find him guilty of anything punishable by civil law, then the civil court might interfere, but should they not, then the civil court was barred from interference. Both for Kirk and King the question was of cardinal moment. Deprived of its liberty publicly to denounce the King's private conduct or public policy, —or, as the King put it, its ability to "disgrace him before the people" —the Kirk was robbed of its defence; and on the other hand, without power of let or hindrance in regard to the harangues and resolutions of the clergy, the King's sovereignty might become a mere farce. The weakness of the Kirk's case was that, in all disputes as to power, the ultimate appeal must be to force. By lending countenance to illegal conspiracies of the nobles it had been able to some extent to coerce the King; and

it had obtained invaluable support of an indirect kind from Bothwell. But that exemplary champion of the Kirk had been compelled, by stress of fortune, to betray it, and had been cast out both by Kirk and State; and it could now neither find an adequate champion of its cause, nor form a sufficiently powerful band among the Protestant nobles or gentry. When some of the leading clergy wrote to Lord John Hamilton, inviting him to place himself at their head, "for the protection of the Kirk and their cause," he very properly sent the letter to the King. The position of the Kirk has been defined and applauded, as a democratic attempt to temper the absolutism of the sovereign; but, as matter of fact, the democracy were without an atom of authority in the Kirk as it then existed: for though in theory each church had the choice of its pastor, the pastors as a whole formed a peculiar guild, claiming more than human prerogatives. Moreover, the Kirk's pretensions were not then supported by the majority of the Scottish democracy. Had it been possible to make an appeal to the count of heads, the verdict would not have been for the extreme Protestant party; and events were to show that this party could not claim a majority even of the clergy. As for the Protestant nobles, they were quite ready to advance the interests of the Kirk, so long as this did not involve any sacrifice of their own privileges; but they were not disposed to endanger their own welfare on behalf of mere clerical ascendancy. If it be said that after all the Kirk had, as a last resort, its terrible weapon of excommunication, it must be remembered that even the Pope had, in wielding it against two English sovereigns, wounded himself rather than them, and that no Protestant subjects gathered together as an ecclesiastical court, had yet dared to speak, or even to think, of wielding it against their own sovereign—no, not even Knox and the Kirk of his time against Mary Stuart, though they clamoured for her death.

It is impossible here to give even an outline of the hair-splitting ratiocinations of the rival disputants in the case of David Black. Suffice it to say that his protests were disregarded, and that, on December 2nd, he was found guilty, the punishment being left to the King. On December 14th,

the King also intimated to the commissioners of the Assembly, that stipends would be paid only to those of the clergy, who agreed to the subscription of "a few lines which he would set down in writt," and which were to the effect that the pulpit was not to be regarded as conferring immunity in the utterance of sedition or treason. The same day, the commissioners of the Assembly were ordered to leave Edinburgh within 26 hours; and on the 16th, some of the more zealous Edinburgh citizens were also expelled. These high-handed, if necessary, proceedings aroused a great ferment of excitement : and when on the 17th, the King, who, with the Lords of Session, was sitting in the Tolbooth, declined to receive a commission, professedly from the town of Edinburgh, asking the removal from the Council of those who had advised the recall of the Popish lords, a riot arose; and Seton, Elphinstone, and Hamilton would most likely have been massacred had the armed mob found entrance into the Tolbooth. Various versions were given of the origin of the riot, the clergy seeking both to attribute it to the "cubicular party" and to minimise its seriousness. But the King, regarding the conduct of the citizens as a gross insult to himself, next day left for Linlithgow, after issuing, with advice of the Council, an order for the removal of the sittings of the Court of Session and the law courts elsewhere. The four ministers of Edinburgh and others of the anti-popery deputation, on being summoned to appear before the Council at Linlithgow, fled, some to England and some to the north; and though the King now deemed it advisable to discharge the Octavians, the tactical victory was so greatly his, that the clerical party were, for the time being, in a state of collapse.

Of the various steps by which James now proceeded towards his emancipation from clerical control, a succinct summary must suffice. The first was the summons of a General Assembly for the last day of February 1596-7 at Perth, where, by the presence of the northern clergy, he received a decision in his favour against "the Popes of Edinburgh." An Assembly which met at Dundee also agreed to relax the Catholic earls from excommunication on their subscription of the Confession, etc. This was a double

triumph for James; for (1) it was a justification of his lenient policy, and (2) it secured him the earls' support. But even more important was the appointment of a standing committee of fourteen members for advice in ecclesiastical matters. This was really the only way out of the deadlock, though it necessarily implied the defeat of the extreme party. As Calderwood puts it, it was "as a wedge taikin out of the Kirk, to rent her with her owne forces, and the verie needle which drew in the threed of the bishops." The thread was drawn by the presentation of a petition by the commissioners to the December Parliament, that the clergy, as the third estates, should be represented in Parliament; whereupon it was agreed that "all ministers provided to prelacies" should have this right. The agreement was sanctioned by a Dundee Assembly in March 1597-8, the number being fixed at fifty-one. At a Falkland ecclesiastical convention in August, it was decided that on a prelacy becoming vacant, the minister to fill it should be selected by the King out of six nominated by the Kirk; but, except that they sat in parliament as commissioners, they had the same standing as other clergy. The general purpose of the King's policy was sufficiently exhibited by the publication in September of his *The True Law of Free Monarchy*, which asserted the right of the King to be unhampered by the Kirk's interference—the different estates of his realm (the nobles, the clergy and the burghs) being deemed merely his assistants and advisers. His main aim in grouping the clergy with the other estates was to limit their interference in politics to advice tendered in a constitutional manner. But the Synod of Fife in September 1599 gained further unpleasant insight into his intentions through one of their number obtaining access to a privately circulated copy of the *Basilikon Doron*. They thus learned prematurely, that the King's office was to rule the Kirk, that Puritans were pests both in Kirk and State, and that Bishops were the only preventatives against their poison. On account of this discovery, the Montrose Assembly, in March 1600, decided that the commissioners should be chosen not *ad vitam* but *annuatim*.

Meantime, in October 1599, the Kirk sessions of Edinburgh had shown

that they could be “pests,” by prohibiting attendance in the performance of “profane comedies,” by an English company at Blackfriars Wind; but the King, who had previously granted the players a warrant, made them, on pain of his high displeasure, rescind the prohibition. It is not stated that the members of the Kirk sessions attended the performances; but James Melville himself, when taken unawares, was very “human” in this respect; and in his *Diary* expresses ingenuous admiration of certain French rope-walkers, who played before the court at Falkland.

Towards the close of the century, James was also engaged in reducing the West Highlands to submission, by causing the chiefs to exhibit their title deeds and give security for peace and order, and by establishing burghs in Cantyre, Lochaber and Lewis. On the Macleods of Lewis failing to comply with his injunction, a commission of lieutenancy was given to Lennox to concur with certain gentlemen adventurers of Fife, in an attempt “to plant policy and civilization” in Lewis, and “develop the extraordinary rich resources of the same”—a scheme, however, which was not in the end a success.

To James the year 1600 was to be associated with one of the most exciting of his many marvellous experiences. In May of this year young Gowrie had returned to Scotland by England. He was favourably received by Elizabeth; but apparently this did not trouble James, who was now on friendly terms with the family, two of the sisters being Queen Anne’s maids of honour, while Alexander, Master of Ruthven, was high in the good graces of James himself. James, it is true, was owing Gowrie some £80,000, on account of sums advanced by his father in the public interest; but he had promised to pay him soon, and meanwhile had secured him a year’s relief from his creditors. Gowrie, however, was opposed to a scheme of James for raising money in order to be in a position, if necessary, to make good his claims to the English throne; and James, rather tactlessly, wished that Gowrie should resign his life-rent of Scone in favour of his brother. Late in July, a messenger was sent from the court at Edinburgh with letters to Atholl and Gowrie, and another, a little

later, from Falkland to the Master of Ruthven, and Drummond, abbot of Inchaffray. Shortly afterwards, Gowrie left his hunting lodge in Strabane for Gowrie House in Perth, where he is supposed to have made preparations to proceed south. These are virtually all the known and undisputed facts as to Gowrie's relations with James and his conduct and movements until August 5th, when he and his brother met sudden death in Gowrie House, mainly at the hands of Sir John Ramsay, a favourite of the King. On the morning of that eventful day, the King had an interview with the Master of Ruthven outside Falkland Palace, just before setting out to the chase; and after the kill, the King and Ruthven, accompanied by Lennox, Mar and the bulk of the gentlemen of the hunt, rode off towards Perth. Within a mile of the town, the Master, according to etiquette, proceeded in advance; and Gowrie, with a body of attendants, met the King at the Inch. After dinner, for which the King had to wait an hour, the King was conducted by the master through a series of rooms into a little study; and Lennox, Mar, and others of the King's retinue accompanied Gowrie into the garden to eat cherries. After some time, Cranstoun, the master stabler, came and informed Gowrie that the King had been seen riding on the Inch. As the porter denied that the King had passed out, Gowrie went into the house and returned with the information that he was not there; but almost immediately afterwards the King's voice was heard, and he was seen at the window of the turret calling for help. The door of the study next to the suite of apartments was found to be locked; but Sir John Ramsay, who was not with the attendants in the garden, got entrance to it, he affirmed, by bursting open a door at the head of a corkscrew staircase; and he called to Sir Thomas Erskine and others to come up by this staircase. At the foot of it they found the wounded Master of Ruthven, who on being stabbed by Erskine expired with the words, "Alas, I had na wyte [no blame] of it." Gowrie, being threatened by the retinue, got hold of two swords, and after rushing up the staircase, with at least one attendant but possibly not more, engaged Ramsay, who ran him through, after Gowrie had dropped his points, on

Ramsay calling out falsely, "You have slain the King." These are the main undisputed facts. What is their true and full interpretation?

Much of the evidence has lately been minutely analysed by Mr. Lang (in *James VI. and the Gowrie Mystery*, 1902), who holds a brief for James, and with much effectiveness so far as showing the high improbability that James had contrived an ingenious plot for the murder of Gowrie and his brother. But it hardly follows that Gowrie and his brother had conceived a deliberate plot against the King, and that, as Mr. Lang insists, there is no *via media*, such as that suggested by the English ambassador Bowes. The defence of James—for, having been art and part in the slaying at least of the master, he was virtually on his defence—was that the master intended, there and then, to kill him; but Mr. Lang admits that this is not consistent with the evidence adduced on the King's behalf. We are thus led to conclude that the Gowries, if they were aggressors, intended merely to kidnap the King; and this is Mr. Lang's theory. But here the difficulty is that no trace of such a design was discoverable, there being no signs of any coalition between Gowrie and other nobles, or even between him and Atholl, whereas without the support of some powerful coalition they could by kidnapping the King only effect their own ruin. So far also from Elizabeth being concerned in such a plot, she was plainly as much puzzled to explain the tragedy as was the rest of the world; and since also the theories as to Gowrie's secret Catholicism have now been quite dissipated, he plainly could not have been concerned in a Catholic plot against the King. There is, therefore, nothing to lend a colour of probability to a story of George Sprot, a blackguard Eyemouth notary, who in 1608 was found in possession of ostensible letters of Logan of Restalrig to Gowrie, indicating that Gowrie proposed to bring James to Logan's stronghold of Fast Castle. Those letters Sprot, who intended them for extorting purposes, admitted to be forgeries; and Mr. Lang has proved them so to be; but has selected from Sprot's tissue of falsehoods a statement that Sprot forged the letters from information in an actual letter of Logan to Gowrie. This letter Sprot said was "in his kist,"

and it was found there; but Mr. Lang admits that this letter "is just as much forged as all the rest." Yet admitting this, and thus without clear proof of the existence of an original, Mr. Lang seeks from internal evidence to show that Sprot did forge the other letters from it; but even if we grant the probability of this, is anything more proved than that Sprot merely rang the changes on an original invention of his own, and this simply because it would be unsafe to enter into details? That the secret of the plot is contained in a letter that was not found in Sprot's chest, is not in itself a credible hypothesis, and is certainly not preferable to the opinion of Spottiswoode, who was one of Sprot's judges, and who deemed Sprot's story "a very fiction" and "a mere conceit of the man's own brain."

Without evidence of an intention to kidnap, the *via media* of a sudden quarrel or misunderstanding becomes the most likely hypothesis. The evidence of evil intentions on the part of Gowrie and his brother is, in substance, made by Mr. Lang to rest mainly (1) on the statement of James that Ruthven had lured him to Perth by the story of a pot of gold; (2) on the asserted fact that Henderson, a retainer of Gowrie, was in the turret along with James and the Master; (3) on the undoubted fact that the door, on the gallery side was locked; and (4) on Gowrie's assurance that the King had ridden away. A full examination of the evidence on these points and on various subsidiary ones is here impossible. It must suffice to state (1) that James is really the only authority for the pot of gold story, though Lennox—who was bound to do his best for the King in his awkward predicament—asserted that it was told him by the King on the way to Perth; (2) that the King's account of his struggle with the Master is inconsistent with a determined attempt of the Master either to kill or overpower him; (3) that in various points it is contradicted by Henderson; (4) that Henderson's presence in the turret is without corroboration, except by himself and James, and that his escape from it, without meeting Sir Thomas Erskine, was impossible, if, as he passed through the close, he saw Gowrie about to pass up the

stair; (5) that the door on the gallery side may even have been locked by Ramsay or the King, and that in any case the door leading to the staircase was either not locked, or, as Henderson states, the key was in it,—either of which suppositions is inconsistent with a carefully prepared plan to overpower the King in the room; and (6) Gowrie did not of his own accord suggest that the King had ridden to the South Inch but was so informed by Cranstoun, whose evidence shows that there was no collusion between them on the point, and Gowrie might very well find corroboration of Cranstoun's story in the apparent fact that the King was not in the house. There is also the consideration that, as matters turned out, the only possible clue to the mystery was that supplied by the King, who was in a bad dilemma, from the fact that he had admittedly in a passion, either of anger or fear, commanded that the Master should be stabbed, and that as dangerously as possible. The two main witnesses for the Gowries were themselves, and they had been removed by the weapon of Ramsay; but the dying testimony of the Master, "Alas, I had na wyt of it" was in their favour.

In any case the King took full advantage of what he professed to believe. The Gowrie estates were forfeited; the King's debt of £80,000 disappeared; the family were placed under the ban of the law; their very name was declared abolished; and even the two younger brothers, two harmless boys, had to take refuge in flight from the King's seemingly insatiable vengeance.

The remaining years of James in Scotland were without further exciting incidents; but his anxieties in regard to the English succession were necessarily in those years greater than ever. As he stated at the convention in June 1600, he was "not certain how soon he should have to use arms, but whenever it should be, he knew his right, and would venture crown and all for it." Vacillating and timid as was in many respects his conduct and policy, he never lost sight of his main purpose; and in the matter of his sovereign rights he, like a true Stewart, was prepared to run all risks. To be ready for the great venture, it was necessary

to master the clergy, so as to be able to cajole the Catholic nobles. The Gowrie mystery afforded the clergy an opportunity to manifest their restiveness—those in Edinburgh declining, until better assured of the facts, to take part in the thanksgiving for the King's deliverance; but, with the exception of Robert Bruce, they were brought to confess their belief in the royal version of the incident; and Bruce, who disdained to conceal his sceptical curiosity, was compelled to leave the country. Thus the asserted right of the clergy to attack the conduct or politics of the sovereign became practically a dead letter; and James was delivered from the immediate danger of having his clever political game spoiled by tactless clerical interference. Further, to meet their enactment that the commissioners to Parliament should be chosen not for life but annually, he induced an ecclesiastical convention in October to begin the revival of Episcopacy, by the appointment of bishops to three sees—Aberdeen, Caithness and Ross—the temporalities of which happened to be vacant.

Having bullied the Kirk into silence, James could now bring an undivided mind to the problem of the succession. It is easy, now, to assert that he had only to wait in patience until the ripe fruit dropped from the tree. But how could he tell what was going on behind the curtain which Elizabeth and Cecil persistently kept drawn against him? Or how could he predict what course of foreign or domestic intrigue was destined to prevail? One of his aims, and this he had, with inexhaustible adroitness and cunning, long pursued, was to disarm Catholic hostility; and he was now in friendly communication with Tyrone in Ireland, with France and with the Pope. Major Martin Hume (*Treason and Plot*, 1901) affirms that even at a somewhat later period he was also angling for Spanish help; but there is no evidence that he seriously expected it; and he would have been the dullard, which he was not, if he had not, from the time of the Armada and earlier, discerned that, in the matter of the succession, Spain was his mortal foe. As to the exact character of his Catholic pretences and offers, we cannot be very certain; for no faith can be placed in the statements of such moral freaks as Colville, Bothwell, and Ogilvie of Pourie; but

GROUP OF PORTRAITS :

(At top). MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

From the Miniature by Janet in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle.

(On left). HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES, by Isaac Oliver.

(On right). ARABELLA STEWART, by Isaac Oliver.

(At bottom). KING JAMES I. AND VI.

The three last portraits are from the Miniatures in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch
at Montagu House.

the general purpose of his policy seems to have been to bamboozle and divide the Catholics, and to prevent any combination in the interests of the Infanta. For the same reason, he sought, by the conferment of high honours, to conciliate those Scottish nobles who had manifested Spanish sympathies. Montrose was now chancellor, Seton, President of the Session, Elphinstone secretary; while with Huntly, who in April 1599 had been created Marquis, the King now spent much of his time, "wauchting and drinking."

That the Infanta would be a very formidable rival was evident, if, as Essex assured James, Cecil had resolved to support her claims; but unless in despair of winning the favour of the Scottish King, Cecil was incapable of anything so boldly revolutionary as either the introduction of a Spanish sovereign or, as Raleigh probably in jest suggested, the setting up a commonwealth. Cecil was essentially the clever, prudent, time-serving official, mainly concerned to choose the course that would be safest and best for himself and would most discomfit his rivals. But for that very reason, he was now in a great strait betwixt two, for he had been closely associated with Elizabeth's very scurvy treatment of James. And as James knew that Cecil could expect little good from him, he was almost bound to believe that Cecil would oppose his accession. For some time James had been carrying on a clandestine correspondence with Essex; and it was in connection with this intrigue that he had asked from Parliament a sum of money to be in a position to make good his title. He had no scruple in encouraging the wild scheme of Essex in February 1601, for the capture of Elizabeth: it was so much in keeping with the Scottish methods of constraint, which had been so successful in his own case, that he failed to discern its extreme foolishness; but by good luck it miscarried, and he was thus saved becoming involved in violent acts that might have lost him the succession. In connection with the scheme, Mar and the Abbot of Kinloss were to be sent to London to demand Elizabeth's recognition of his rights; but Essex having been apprehended, they did not appear in London until he was tried and executed. The main purpose of James in sending them now was to gauge the political situation, to secure as influential support as possible for his

claims, and to warn the Cecil party that their attitude towards his claims would determine his treatment of them on his accession.

Whether Cecil had been working against James it is hard to say; but with the removal of Essex the way was clearer to an amicable understanding; and Cecil had dissipated the possibility of his support of the Infanta, by denouncing, at the trial of Essex, the assertion that he favoured her, "as a foul and false report," and by solemnly declaring that God might consume him where he stood, if he "hated not the Spaniard as much as any man living." Accordingly, after an interview with the ambassadors, Cecil frankly and finally, though secretly, committed himself to James; and, having come to an agreement with him, he proceeded, conjointly with his more outspoken henchman, Lord Henry Howard, to dispose of the possible rivalry of Sir Walter Raleigh, by a course of systematic and shameful insinuations against him. But while warning James of the probably evil intentions of Raleigh and others, Cecil made it clear to James that his best course was to see, and know, and do, nothing—neither to ask for parliamentary recognition of his title, nor for any kind of declaration from Elizabeth, but quietly to wait the inevitable issue of events. In this he turned out to be right, although the manifest determination of James to risk all in the defence of his title had an important influence on the issue. The very number of the possible candidates—fourteen in all were supposed to have very feasible claims—was, in such circumstances, to the Scottish King's advantage, for, though there was a formidable prejudice against him as a Scot, his opponents were almost hopelessly divided. In the end the Catholics—since there was seen to be no chance for the Infanta—had resolved to support Arabella Stewart; but the decision was arrived at too late to be effective. This, and especially the fact that the officials of the reigning sovereign had decided for James, made his succession inevitable. When Elizabeth's end was drawing near, a proclamation was drawn up by Cecil which, a few hours after her death, was approved by the Privy Council. The uncertainty that prevailed, caused the proclamation of a definite decision to be accepted by the nation with a

HEAD OF A DEER

Hunted by King James and his son Henry, Prince of Wales.

In the Collection of Viscount Dillon at Ditchley, Enstone, Oxfordshire.

On a brass plate, beneath the head, the following lines are engraved : —

In Henly Knap to hunt me, King James, Prince Henry found me;
Cornebury Park River, to end their hunting, drownd me.

feeling of relief so strong that it almost amounted to enthusiasm for the new sovereign. According to Bacon, the sensation of realizing that the crisis was peacefully over, was like that of waking from a fearful dream — so great was the strain of suspense, in view of the possibility that within a few hours England might be in the throes of civil war. It was thus amid the general plaudits of England that the Scottish King took possession of the great prize towards which, from early childhood, the whole bent of his ambition had been directed. To attain his end, he had made unscrupulous use of all kinds of methods; but he had to fight for his own hand against heavy odds, and he was fighting often in the dark; and when all is said in ridicule or condemnation of his methods, it must be conceded that he owed his accession rather to his own tenacity, than to the tortuous passivity of Elizabeth.



THE GUNPOWDER PLOT CONSPIRATORS.

From the Engraving by Crispin van de Passe in the National Portrait Gallery.

CONCILIVM SEPTVM NOBILIVM ANGLORVM CONIVRANTIVM IN NECVM IACOBI ·I·
MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ REGIS TOTIVSQ· ANGLICI CONVOCATI PARLEMENTI ·



CHAPTER III.

THE MINISTRY OF SALISBURY.



IN anticipation of the Queen's death, Sir Robert Carey had relays of horses placed in readiness, and setting out soon after the occurrence—at 2 o'clock on Thursday morning, March 24th,—reached Holyrood, “be-blooded with great falls and bruises,” late on Saturday night after the King had gone to bed. As his purpose was to anticipate the official intimation, his only testimony to the truth of his news was a blue ring, which had been sent by James to Carey's sister—who was in attendance on the Queen—with the view of its being returned as soon as all was over. Until three days after Carey's arrival, the King knew nothing of what had been done in regard to the succession, for the letter of the Council detailing the circumstances and results of the proclamation was

not completed until 10 o'clock on Thursday night, and, for the messengers who brought it, no special relays of horses had been provided. Before James received the Council's message he had, however, sent Bothwell, Abbot of Holyrood, to take possession of Berwick-on-Tweed in his name; and the general applause with which the idea of his succession was received, was a token that, at least in the north of England, the sentiment of the nation was in his favour.

Before setting out for London he had much to arrange and settle; and the letter from the Council having convinced him that all was well, there was no cause for hurry. On March 31st, he was proclaimed King of England, Scotland and Ireland at the Cross of Edinburgh; and the inauguration of the new monarchy of the British Empire was celebrated by the lighting of bonfires, and other marks of national rejoicing. His last public appearance before his departure was on Sunday, April 3rd, when he attended service in St. Giles's Church, and after the sermon bade farewell to his people: according to Calderwood, he congratulated himself on the fact that he had "settled both Kirk and Kingdom;" and Spottiswoode states that he promised to "have care of them and their good, giving them a most loving and kind farewell." Although his accession had "been generally desired by the nation," which was sufficiently proud of the new glory that accrued by it to the Scottish dynasty, yet when the people realized, says Spottiswoode, "that they would have no more resident King among them, they were grieved out of all measure." If Scotland would never before confess, she was now made to know, that she could not vie in importance with the Southern Kingdom. Her King's gain was in part her own loss. The expected advantage or glory to her through the Union of the Crowns was deferred beyond the lives of those who witnessed the sovereign's departure to the more favoured Kingdom; and during the coming years it was to bring to her mainly humiliation and sorrow.

The King set out on April 5th, attended by Lennox, Mar, Argyll, Moray, Home and various officials, as well as by a number of the clergy. He was more than three weeks on the road, "ambling along," in the words of

Carlyle, "in a large cavalcade at full leisure in the bright spring weather." One reason for his leisurely journey was doubtless that the obsequies of the Queen, on April 28th, might be over ere he reached the capital. He was always particularly averse to near contact with death and to manifestations of mourning; and, besides having been too deeply wounded by Elizabeth's attitude to him to regard her memory with any high esteem, he was desirous that on his arrival nothing should intervene to defer the transference of his subjects' homage entirely to himself. Apart from this, his leisurely progress was in keeping with his own love of country life. He thoroughly enjoyed his novel intercourse with the English gentry, as well as the entertainments and banqueting, and above all the new opportunities for his favourite recreation of the chase. That he thus also helped to evoke the enthusiastic loyalty of his new subjects there can be no doubt. Though lacking in regal dignity and in that mingled reserve and benignity which capture the crowd, he commended himself, by his jovial good humour, to those in immediate contact with him; and his ardent love of sport appealed to some of the most characteristic sympathies of Englishmen. Bacon, whose insight was peculiarly impartial and discerning, had an interview with him before he reached London, and thus records his impressions to Northumberland: "Your Lordship shall find a prince the furthest removed from vainglory that may be, but rather like a prince of the ancient form than of the later time. His speech is swift and cursory, and in the full dialect of his country, and in point of business short; in point of discourse large. He affecteth popularity by gracing such as he had heard to be popular, and not by any fashions of his own. He is thought somewhat general in his favours, and his virtue of access is rather because he is much abroad and in press than that he giveth easy audience about serious things." Though recognising the geniality and good intentions of James, Bacon indicates that his ways were hardly those of an English sovereign; and indeed it was impossible for James to rival the impression produced by such strong personalities as Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, although his wit and cleverness and his genial good nature some-

what atoned for his lack of sovereign majesty. The interest in his arrival increased as he neared London—nobles, gentry and courtiers of all kinds being anxious for his speedy acquaintance and approval. Such also was the great concourse of spectators during the last stage of the journey, that as he approached London, on May 7th, he “rode though the meadows to avoid the extremity of the dust.” On account of the prevalence of the plague, which broke out shortly after his arrival—caused no doubt by the unusual crowding through the influx of strangers—the coronation at Westminster did not take place until July 25th; and as even then the plague had not quite ceased, the ceremony was somewhat shorn of its splendour and the procession witnessed by but few spectators.

Following his own precept that “every new King ought at least to let a year and a day pass before he made any innovation,” James allowed use and wont to prevail as much as possible. For general guidance he trusted almost entirely to the advice of Cecil—whom on May 13th, he created Lord Cecil of Essendon—and he made little or no change in the occupants of the great offices of State, the only important exception being the removal of the too gifted Sir Walter Raleigh from the captaincy of the guard, which was given to Sir Thomas Erskine. As the mastership of the rolls happened to be vacant, it was bestowed on Bruce, Abbot of Kinloss, who had done James great service in the embassy to London; but the other posts reserved for his Scottish contingent were mainly those about his own person. To prefer his old familiars for near and daily intercourse was natural; and the same weakness, or whatever it may be called, was also later to be manifested both by William of Orange and the Hanoverians; but it was also only natural that the assignment of posts, so greatly coveted, to Scotsmen, should wound the susceptibilities of many disappointed Englishmen.

If James followed Cecil’s advice in now desiring reconciliation with Spain, such a policy was also in harmony with his own inclinations: pertinacious though he was, where his own interests were concerned, he was the reverse of adventurous, and lacked enthusiasm for the mere glory of achievement. A satisfactory arrangement in regard to the Netherlands was

however impossible; and while James resolved not to continue the war, he agreed in June to a treaty of alliance with France, by which a force of British soldiers was levied at the expense of France for the defence of Ostend. Some time before his accession, the trouble with Ireland, which had been fostered by Spain, was virtually over. Mountjoy had just reduced it to submission, and although on the proclamation of James as King, Cork, Waterford and other southern towns endeavoured to inaugurate a league for the restoration of the old religion, the swift and decisive measures of Mountjoy soon restored order. In England the failure of James to grant the expected toleration to the Catholics aroused much discontent; and his agreement, against his own personal inclinations, to follow the advice of the Council in exacting the old recusancy fines was the direct cause of a Catholic plot, which, mere burlesque of conspiracy though it was, acquired importance as a portion of the web of circumstances that fatally immeshed Sir Walter Raleigh.

Before the death of Elizabeth, William Watson, a secular priest, who was opposed to the schemes of Father Persons and the Jesuits on behalf of the Spanish succession, had been in communication with James in the interests of the Catholics, and had been led to believe that James was—as indeed he, lately, had publicly professed to be—in favour of Catholic toleration. His decision meanwhile to exact the recusancy fines was therefore so surprising that Watson could attribute it only to the advice of his councillors; and he therefore bethought him that if he could only get hold of James after the old Scottish manner, he might succeed in effecting a complete change in his policy. The plan,—the method by which he proposed to effect it, by smuggling James into the Tower by means of an escort in the uniform of the King's guard—and the glorious results expected to accrue through it to the conspirators,—all reads like a mere tale out of *The Arabian Nights*. It was a scheme of persons with either less gumption, or less knowledge of life and its realities, than very young schoolboys. For the sake of the gaiety of nations, one regrets that the grotesque conception was not permitted to realize itself in even any of its abortive forms; but those capable of seriously contemplating such an

enterprise were bound to lack prudence to conceal sufficiently their preparations for it; and the Jesuits, believing that Catholic interests would be best served by revealing it to the authorities before its inevitable failure, decided to expose their unwise and hostile fellow-religionists. The result was that James, with characteristic good-nature, resolved to remit the fines.

But this, the "Bye" or "Surprising" Plot, being thus disposed of, it was suspected, or so it was pretended, that since George Brooke, a brother of Lord Cobham, was connected with it, Lord Cobham himself, and therefore Raleigh, might have had at least some remote interest in it; a theory, enunciated without a scrap of real evidence by Coke at the trial of Raleigh, being that it was initiatory to an imaginary plot which was, for accusatory purposes, termed the "Main" and which, it was asserted, implied the deposition of James, with the help of Spain, in the interests of Arabella Stewart. In whatever plot Cobham and Raleigh were concerned, it certainly had no connection with the Watson plot, which its author deemed complete in itself; but Brooke being questioned as to the doings of Cobham, asserted that Cobham had been in communication with the Flemish ambassador Aremberg. Now of this fact both Cecil and James were already fully aware, for they possessed Cobham's own letters to the effect that he was in correspondence with Aremberg before Aremberg's arrival in London; and since Aremberg was desirous to obtain support for the peace negotiations, it was not surprising that after his arrival, he should, with this view, be in communication with Cobham as well as others. Unless therefore Cecil was more upset by the discovery of the Watson fiasco than he had any reason to be, there was nothing to alarm him in the news that Cobham was in communication with Aremberg. There was, however, also a rumour that Cobham favoured, or had favoured, the claims of Arabella Stewart; and Cecil made this a reason or excuse for summoning Raleigh, whom of course he knew to be discontented, before the Council, and questioning him as to his knowledge of plots on behalf of Arabella, or of treasonable communications between Cobham and Aremberg. Raleigh

denied all knowledge of anything of the kind, but, later, thought good to write to Cecil that he nevertheless suspected that Cobham was in communication with Aremberg. This has been regarded as a fatal blunder on Raleigh's part; but it turned out to be so, only because an unfair use was made of it. Raleigh could not answer for anything that Cobham might be doing; the Council might possess more information than he had in regard to this; and should it turn out that Cobham's communications with Aremberg were treasonable, Raleigh might, for withholding his knowledge, or reasonable ground of belief, that Cobham was in communication with Aremberg, be accused of an attempt to screen treasonable practices. But that Cobham was in communication with Aremberg was not, in itself, even suspicious. Indeed, not only did James, before Raleigh's trial, inform Beaumont, the French ambassador, that Aremberg was not involved in the affair, but Cecil himself admitted, even after the trial, that Aremberg was not aware of any treasonable designs on the part of Cobham; that the "practice was discovered," before it was imparted either to the Lady Arabella, the Archduke, or the King of Spain; and that it was really nothing more than a purpose they had "conceived in their minds and discoursed of among themselves."

Raleigh's letter was so made use of by Cecil as to induce Cobham to suppose that Raleigh in some way had accused him of treason, or wrongdoing. Cobham therefore, while admitting that he had conferred with Aremberg for procuring money in the interests of peace with England, affirmed that Raleigh was the instigator of the negotiations, a very unlikely thing in itself. It has been suggested by Major Martin Hume, in *Sir Walter Raleigh* (1897), that Raleigh and Cobham may have been connected with the proposal of the Catholics on behalf of Arabella before the accession of James; and it is probable that Cobham, at least, was at this time approached by Spain. There was also an evident attempt at the trial of Raleigh to confuse earlier and later communications with Aremberg, and earlier proposals in regard to Arabella Stewart, with a supposed later plot on her behalf, so as in a vague and uncircumstantial manner to create a prejudice against him; although there was no definite evidence that he

ever favoured the claims of Arabella, and although the prosecution asserted that Arabella herself—apparently before the accession of James—had discountenanced all attempts on her behalf.

It is thus impossible to suppose that the Council either believed that Cobham and Raleigh were involved in the absurd machinations of the “surprising plot,” or dreaded a new movement on behalf of Arabella, supported by Spain; and the only adequate explanation of the prosecution seems to be that Cecil wished to seize on any plausible excuse he could find in order to effect their political ruin. This explanation is also corroborated by a letter of Howard to Cecil in the Cotton MS. and first published in Edwards’ *Life and Letters of Raleigh* (1867). Gardiner when he wrote the earlier volumes of his great *History of England* was apparently unaware of this letter, and having convinced himself of the general good faith of Cecil he, in a foot note to his revised edition, rather fails to do justice to its significance. He objects that, even if the letter was sent—which there is really no reason to doubt, for why should Howard not have sent it?—it is unfair to infer that Cecil approved of Howard’s scheme. But since Cecil put much trust in Howard, the chances are that he did; and the tactics suggested in the letter bear a suspiciously close resemblance to those ultimately adopted against Cobham. Gardiner indeed affirms that Howard did not consider the possibility of entrapping into treason, but evidently he was not particular, if only they might be entrapped. Both were to be made “to taste the peril that grows out of discontented minds.” Cobham, more easily enticed than Raleigh, was to be embarked by Cecil’s “witt and interest in some course the Spanish way, as either may reveale his weakness or snare his ambition.” In the success of the plot a good deal was to turn on the fact that while Cobham was in favour of peace with Spain, Raleigh was opposed to it; and Raleigh was to be influenced “with some violent desire upon the sudden,” so as “to bring him into snares which he would shun otherwise.” Men who were capable of laying such traps for Cobham and Raleigh in Elizabeth’s time, would hardly scruple to lay such traps as finally enabled them to

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

From the Painting, probably by F. Zuccaro, in the National Portrait Gallery, London.



secure their conviction of treason against James. Coupled also with Howard's and Cecil's systematic calumny of Cobham and Raleigh to James, from the time of the execution of Essex, the letter makes it more certain than ever that the apprehension, trial and condemnation of Raleigh were merely the consummation of a long cherished purpose.

It is no absolution of Cecil to say, as Gardiner does, that "though Cecil's references to Raleigh, in the early correspondence with James, are not complimentary, they are far different from the constant abuse of him by Lord H. Howard;" for quiet insinuations are an admirable supplement to gross abuse; and Cecil, moreover, virtually made himself responsible for Howard's abuse by writing to James: "I will leave the best and worst of him to Howard's relation, in whose discretion and affection you may sleep securely." We cannot believe that Cecil, knowing Howard as he did, had not a very shrewd suspicion of the character of Howard's "relation." On the contrary, he probably supposed that he might as well seek to gild refined gold as attempt to better Howard's calumnies; and therefore, with characteristic discretion, he contented himself with stating that it was contrary to Raleigh's nature to resolve to be under James's sovereignty, that in no circumstances ought he to believe what Raleigh might say, and that Raleigh was a "person whom most religious men hold *anathema*." Surely a sufficiently apposite and admirable introduction to the more outspoken diatribes of Howard! Since also James, before the death of Elizabeth, had written to Cecil, "*Your* suspicions and *your* disgracing shall be mine," it was inevitable that on interviewing James at Burghley House, Raleigh should meet with a reception the reverse of comforting, and that soon after the arrival of James in London, he should be deprived of the captaincy of the guard. In lieu of this he was, it is true, relieved of the payment of £300 a year charged on his governorship of Jersey; but soon thereafter he was deprived of the governorship, as well as of the wardenry of the Stanneries, and of his lucrative licensing patents; and in addition, he was, with indecent haste, compelled to vacate the crown house of Durham Place, on which he had spent much in improvements. Cecil assigned as one

of the causes of Raleigh's arrest, "his discontent *in conspectu omnium*, ever since the King came." But it was hardly to be supposed that Raleigh, who under Elizabeth had rendered such splendid services to England, should feel much content in the "disgracings," which the new King was, at the instance of Cecil, now heaping upon him; and we can hardly help concluding that Cecil counted on his manifestation of discontent, as a means towards his further disgrace. It may be that Cecil, to whom Raleigh must have represented much that was incalculable, conscientiously regarded him as a danger to the State. His haughty temper, his many-sided genius, his ardour for adventure, his idealism, his soaring, if in many ways noble, ambition, were all more or less disquieting to the cautious and conventional official; and as for James, he had evidently come to regard Raleigh as a kind of English Bothwell, and, we are told, both hated and feared him. Merely to humiliate him was, if he was dangerous, only to make him more dangerous still. Both Cecil and the King might well be suspicious now of his intentions; but, on the other hand, it is not to be credited that they would be inclined to spare him, if they could make out against him even the shadow of a case; and only the mere shadow of a case was in fact made out.

The actual charge against Raleigh was that he had "conspired to deprive the King of his crown and dignity, to subvert the government, and alter the true religion as established in England, and to levy war against the King;" but for this tremendous indictment there was no evidence, even of a manufactured kind, which could be termed fairly plausible. All that was obtainable was vague statements of Brooke, brother of Cobham, that Cobham had thoughts of a plot, and meant to consult the Archduke, and finally the King of Spain about it, and that Cobham had told him that Raleigh was concerned in a plot to destroy the King and his cubs. Watson also affirmed that Brooke had told him the same story; but even this hearsay tale Brooke finally confessed to be merely a lie of his own. That the deposition, or destruction, of the King was to be conjoined with a project for raising Arabella Stewart to the throne, was also the theory of the prosecution; but this portion of the accusation was touched on with

great gingerliness and mainly by means of casual insinuations, Coke not striving to be in any way consistent in his theories. So far as there was any truth in it, it must have referred to the earlier project; and the existence of the earlier project, with which at least Cobham probably had connection, was utilized, though in an indefinite way, for the indulgence in innuendoes in regard to communications with Spain. Though Raleigh admitted that he perfectly well knew that "long since—in the late Queen's time"—Cobham was in communication "with Aremberg in the low countries, as was well known to my Lord Treasurer and to my Lord Cecil," he affirmed that all he knew of Cobham's later connection with Aremberg was this:—"At his own board, arguing and speaking violently—he for the Peace, I against the Peace—the Lord Cobham told me that when Count Aremberg came he would yield such strong arguments for the Peace as would satisfy many. And withal he told, as his fashion is to utter things, what great sums of money would be given to some councillors for making the Peace, and named my Lord Cecil and the Earl of Mar. I answering, bade him make no such offers to them, for they would hate him if he did offer it." Raleigh also affirmed that he rejected, or put off, Cobham's offers to himself, which is very likely, for not only was he an inveterate enemy of Spain, but at this time he was actually proposing, doubtless with perfect sincerity, to the King to raise 20,000 men against Spain. Cobham admitted that he had offers of large sums of money from Aremberg for the purpose of bribing influential persons to support the proposals for peace, and alternately asserted and denied that Raleigh had expressed his willingness to accept the money. The Privy Council, on account of Brooke's so-called information, gave Raleigh to understand, when they first examined him, that Cobham had—though Raleigh asserted he knew nothing of it—got entangled in a treasonable project with Spain. But whether so or not, he was bound, on account of his well known intimacy with Cobham, to be suspected of connection with any political project of Cobham's; and he was thus, if Cobham had reason to take offence at him, very much at Cobham's mercy. Knowing therefore that Brooke

—whether Cobham was guilty or not — was the only witness against Cobham, that his and Cobham's enemies would stick at nothing, and that Cobham, besides not being particularly wise, had been induced to bear a grudge against him, it is not surprising that he should have sought both to remove that grudge and to prevent Cobham being guilty of further folly, by letting him know that he would be quite safe if he kept quiet, for Brooke was the only witness against him. That he did give Cobham such a message he denied, and it is a question between his word and that of the messenger, who, at least indirectly, was threatened with torture. In any case, this is really the only point that tells against his innocence even of any arrangement with Aremberg to support the Peace; for the only other kind of testimony, even on this point, that can be termed evidence is the contradictory statements of Cobham, in whom anger and fear seem to have alternated with a desire to do justice to his friend.

It is not uncommon to represent the verdict against Raleigh as merely a striking instance of the unsatisfactory state of the law, which, as it then stood, required the accused person to make good his innocence. But the question rather is: Was there presumptive evidence against him? Had he anything to rebut? Raleigh categorically denied (1) that he was treasonably a practiser with Spain, or that he knew that Cobham meant to go there; (2) that he knew of the practising of Arabella, or of Cobham's practisings in that connection with Aremberg; and (3) that he knew of the "surprising plot"—which ridiculous fiasco had, further, no connection either with Arabella or Spain. To these denials his accusers could answer nothing; and thus the verdict being unsupported by anything worthy to be termed evidence, can hardly be regarded as a mere illustration of the then imperfect character of the law as to evidence. Whether the scathing declaration attributed to Justice Gaudy be apocryphal or not, it undoubtedly expressed the current conviction of the time—"that the justice of England has never been so injured and degraded as by the condemnation of Sir Walter Raleigh." Spedding expresses the opinion that Sir Edward Coke, by the hard manner in which he conducted the prosecution, was "singly

responsible for the verdict;" but the temper of Coke merely mirrored that of the bulk of the very intelligent commissioners—including Howard and Cecil—who gave the adverse verdict. Indeed a letter by Cecil of August 4th clearly shows that Cecil had made up his mind that Raleigh was to be found guilty. The only redeeming features of the case seem to be (1) that the trial reversed the sentiments of the nation towards Raleigh and made him the hero of the hour, and (2) that the sentence of execution was meanwhile commuted. The safe confinement of Cobham and Raleigh in the Tower met the political necessities of Cecil, while James, having found means to render Raleigh innocuous, was not disposed to be vindictive.

While the old question of the Catholics and Spain had thus immediately made a new demand on the attention of James as sovereign of England, and had indirectly been a factor in the ruin of Sir Walter Raleigh, James was also at once brought face to face with the still more difficult problem of the political relationships of Protestantism. He may have flattered himself that now he had been delivered from the clutches of the Scottish Presbyterians, the settlement of the difficulty, both in Scotland and England, would be comparatively easy of accomplishment; but in reality the problem with which he had now to deal was more tangled and complex than the Scottish one. If the Scottish one was difficult, the character of the difficulty was easily comprehended: it was to repress the overt endeavours of the clergy and the church courts to usurp the functions of the State and the civil rulers, and to lord it over the King. In England the problem was in its essence the same; but as yet the issues were not so clear, for they were partly hidden by the dust of minor disputes; and Puritanism, not having as yet attained predominance in the Church, had not had an opportunity of fully manifesting that its social and political aims were essentially similar to those of Puritanism in Scotland. That with which James was immediately faced was a dispute between High Churchmen and Puritans in regard to doctrines and ceremonies; but the dispute really involved not merely the question of religious tolerance within a certain range of ecclesiastical opinion and practice, but the still wider one of poli-

tical freedom, in its intellectual and moral aspects. For the ecclesiastical difficulties with which he was now about to be beset, James was, of course, not primarily responsible; and it is at least possible that they had been aggravated by the preference of Elizabeth to defer the evil day of reckoning as long as she could. Some historians have theorized that had Elizabeth survived longer she would have settled the dispute; and it is even asserted by Spedding, in his *Life of Bacon*, that she left it "in a condition apparently very favourable for settlement;" but this of course is to take for granted that it could have been settled by giving full countenance to Puritan tendencies: that the dispute was not really a sign of irreconcilable social differences, and that to have healed over the sore for the time being might not have increased the final virulence of the disease. True, James in a manner aggravated rather than settled the dispute; but it does not follow that an exactly opposite policy would have been more successful, or even that he was wrong in the main lines of his policy, or that the aggravation of the dispute was not a blessing in disguise.

Both parties were naturally anxious to gain, as soon as possible, the ear of the new sovereign; but Nevill, whom Archbishop Whitgift had sent to Edinburgh to know the King's mind, having reported that he was in favour neither of Puritanism nor Presbytery, all that the High Church party had meanwhile to do was to await events. They must also have been sufficiently comforted by his letter in September to the archbishops and bishops, in which, while informing them of his "constancy to maintain the Church as he found it, in spite of the vain hopes of the Papists," he also affirmed that the Puritans were no less dangerous than they, that therefore "equal care was to be taken in their suppression," and that the judges had decided that it was "lawful for Bishops to deprive ministers for nonconformity." On his way to London the Puritans had presented him with a petition, in which the question as to Church government was avoided, but a demand was made for the prescription of unity of doctrine, the discontinuance of various ritual observances, and the introduction of a plainer and simpler musical service. The petition was prepared with

some art; for while, in view of the well known antipathy of James to Presbyterianism, it said nothing of their objections to Episcopacy, special attention was concentrated on matters in which it was hoped the King would be somewhat biassed in their favour. Other reforms were touched on, which were outside the sphere of party controversy, and some were advocated which were in themselves excellent. The petition suggested to James the advisability of a conference with both parties, with a view to the introduction of various desirable reforms in matters of jurisdiction, discipline and ceremony, and also in order to define the limits of possible compromise between the two parties,—the meetings to begin at Hampton Court on Saturday, January 14th, 1603-4.

Before the conference Bacon presented to James a paper entitled “Certain Considerations Touching the Better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England.” The paper is a masterpiece of “sweet reasonableness,” as well as, in some respects, of practical wisdom. Some have gone so far as virtually to affirm that the King had merely to follow its advice to the letter, and the whole matter in dispute between High Churchmen and Puritans would have been so perfectly adjusted that they would actually have agreed to differ; and thus the quarrel, which was finally to wreck the fortunes of Charles I., would have been settled long before his accession, for ever and aye. But, to say the least, this, if the slang term may be pardoned, is surely a “very large order.” There is even no proof that Bacon meant the paper to be more than one of general information and advice; and as he was something of a courtier he may even have wished to commend himself to James by the recommendation of a policy which he thought might meet with his approval. But how far its aims could be carried out would depend on the temper and attitude of the parties at the conference; and Gardiner takes at least an extremely sanguine view even of temporary possibilities, when he makes James solely responsible for the shutting of the door “against the large tolerance of Bacon;” for the Broad Churchism advocated by Bacon was so far in advance of his time that it has not even yet been realized. The truth was that

neither of the two parties desired any real compromise : they had no inclination to lie down together ; each was bent on the other's destruction. Defeated in their attempt to impose their own views on others, the Puritans now pleaded for liberty for their own opinions and practices—not, however, because they believed, or would ever believe, in any large tolerance, but merely because of their temporary necessities. Though, therefore, James obtained much valuable guidance from Bacon's paper, and was able to follow his advice on many points of importance, it failed to convince him of the advisability of even attempting, or pretending, to hold an equal balance between the two parties, or of allowing matters partly to drift. Doubtless he had been prejudiced by his experiences of the tender mercies of Puritanism ; but he had also, it may be argued, been enlightened by them ; for though some hold that English Puritanism was of a much milder type than the Scottish variety, it was essentially the same form of religious development. Its less aggressive character it owed mainly to the restraints of Elizabeth ; but in the heyday of its power it manifested a similar aptitude, with the Scottish variety, for narrow social tyranny.

At the first day's conference, at which only the bishops were present, James indicated the general character of the ecclesiastical policy he intended to pursue. He informed them that he saw "no cause so much to alter and change anything as to confirm that which he found well settled already," and "entered into a gratulation to Almighty God for bringing him into the promised land, where religion was purely professed, where he sate among grave, learned, and reverend men, not as before, elsewhere, a King without State, without honour, without order, where beardless boys might brave him to his face." In England he evidently felt that he was breathing, intellectually and morally, an ampler air. How greatly, for example, did the broad and tolerant tone of Bacon's paper differ from the documents which Andrew Melville and other Presbyterian leaders in Scotland had been accustomed to pen for his ecclesiastical guidance ! He was thoroughly in his element in presiding at last over a meeting of real unquestionable bishops, and in mildly laying down the law to them. His complete mastery

of details, coupled with his practical shrewdness, his genial good-humour and his royal prestige, gained willing assent to his suggestions in regard to confirmation, baptism, excommunication and other matters—all on the lines of Bacon's advice. In discussing such themes his learning, his quickness of comprehension and his expert logic were seen at their best; and according to Barlow, who wrote a condensed record of the conference, he showed himself "as expedite and perfect as the greatest scholars"—so admirably "both for understanding, speech and judgement, did his Majesty handle all those points." Naturally the bishops' admiration of his learning and discernment was all the more sincere that his views on the more important points coincided generally with theirs, and that he had let them know that he was substantially with them against the Puritans. "Howsoever he lived among the Puritans," he said, "and was kept for the most part as a ward under them, yet since he was the age of his son [10 years old] he ever detested their opinions: as the Saviour of the world said, though he lived amongst them, he was not of them."

On the Monday the King, with the Lords of Council, had a special meeting with four leading representatives of the Puritans, the only bishops present being those of London and Winchester. For the Puritans the learned Dr. Reynolds was principal spokesman. In regard to the importance of a preaching ministry James was with them, though he thought that "where it might not be had, Godly prayers and exhortations did much good." He also approved of the proposed new translation of the Bible, himself giving instances of important errors in the versions then current. The Puritans failed, however, to win his assent to the nine introductory assertions concluded at Lambeth, which would have assimilated the Church of England in doctrine to the narrow and rigorous Calvinism of the Scottish Kirk; and in regard to ceremonies he was, unless where strong objections could be urged, for use and wont. His aim was not "to make innovations, but to confirm whatever he found lawfully established;" and to amend and correct what was corrupted by time. It was his "constant and resolute opinion," that no church should separate itself from the

Church of Rome in doctrine and observance further "than she had departed from herself when she was in her flourishing and best state." As one of the aims of the Conference was "to settle a uniform order through the whole Church," this decision implied that the Puritans would be compelled to observe the practices they objected to; but great care was taken to show that no idolatrous or superstitious meaning was to be attached to the use of the cross at baptism and other similar points of ritual. Moreover since the Puritans also wished to have "a uniform order" and to have such uses discarded, they could hardly now, with much cogency, argue, on the plea of tolerance, that they should have liberty to omit the practices—although the King did not make it easier for them to submit by rudely declaring "I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse," or by humourously hoping that "those who would take away the surplice might want linen for their own breech."

The question of church government was not directly raised, though certain points bearing on the jurisdiction and power of bishops led the King to express his decided preference for Episcopacy: "No bishop, no King!" he exclaimed, speaking, no doubt, from the book of personal experience. He had no reason, but the opposite, even to minimise the office and dignities of the bishop, or, as he said, "to take from the bishops that which they had so long enjoyed;" but it was nevertheless agreed, in accordance with Bacon's suggestions to the King, that in the admonition and trial of ministers, the bishop should not act without the advice of the dean and chapter; and their powers of excommunication—which the King's experience in Scotland caused him to regard with some jealousy—were also greatly circumscribed, the civil excommunication being reduced to a mere civil censure and therefore annulled, and a Court of Chancery framed to punish contumacies. Although the Puritans had petitioned Elizabeth for the introduction of Presbyterianism, they now made no mention of it. Dr. Reynolds, however, proposed the revival of the old practice of "prophesyings," which on account of certain abuses had been put down by Elizabeth. The "prophesyings" were meetings of the clergymen within

a certain district for discussing texts of Scripture; and although their revival had been recommended by Bacon, James professed to see in the proposal as advocated by Reynolds the germs of Presbytery; and he saw, at any rate, that it might afford the Puritans opportunity of promoting agitation on behalf of their special views. When therefore Reynolds suggested that any disputed points that might arise in the discussions might be referred to the Bishops with his Presbyters, James, either not comprehending the reference, or desirous to use it as an *apropos* to introduce a statement, which he wished to have an opportunity to make, began in racy language to utter his sentiments on Presbytery, an institution which he said "agreeeth as well with the King, as God and the Devil" [meaning, it is to be supposed, "the Devil with God"]. "Then," he continued, "Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick, shall meet and at their pleasures censure me and my council and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say 'it may be thus,' then Dick shall reply and say 'Marry but I will have it thus.' And therefore, here, I must reiterate my former speech, *le Roi s'avisera*. Stay I pray you, for one seven years before you demand that of me, and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you; for let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath; then shall we all of us have work enough, both our hands full. But Dr. Reynolds until you find that I grow lazy let that alone."

The attitude of James towards the Puritans is very exactly defined in his *Basilikon Doron*. He objected to them that they contemned the law and civil authority, "in making for every particular question of the policy of the Church as great commotion as if the article of the Trinity were called in question, in making the Scriptures to be ruled by their conscience, and not their conscience by the Scriptures, and he that denies the least jot of their grounds *sit tibi tanquam ethnicus et publicanus*, not worthy to enjoy the benefit of breathing, much less to participate with them of the sacraments; and before that any of their grounds be impugned, let the King, people, law and all be trod under foot." The most dangerous element of Puritanism was its narrow intolerance—its determination to

foist on the nation a rudely fanatical and cast-iron system of morals and manners, which left almost no scope, not merely for harmless recreation, but for the free exercise of man's higher intelligence, and for the noble enjoyment of art. Its overpowering seriousness, however admirable in certain respects as a mere restraint, was bound to become, as it did, too oppressive for human endurance. It represented the recrudescence of the old claims of the ecclesiastics for supremacy over the State; but its claims were really more arrogant and intolerant than those of mediæval Catholicism, for it disdained to make any compromise with weak human nature, or to gild the pill which it commanded it to swallow. In England the contest of Protestantism with the Papacy had originally been mainly a contest between the Pope and the Sovereign, which had involved the introduction by the Sovereign of various reforms, including the abolition of the religious houses, and of the Latin ceremonies, and also the sanction of a translation of the Scriptures. But the dissemination of the Scriptures and other influences had given rise to a Puritanic sentiment, which, notwithstanding the efforts of Elizabeth to stay its progress, was now threatening England with scorpions instead of rods. Like those of the Puritans and the Mediæval Catholics, the views of James in regard to tolerance—especially outside the limits of what he deemed Christianity—were imperfect, as were indeed the views even of Bacon, and as are probably still the views of the majority of Englishmen and Scotsmen; but, at least, in deciding not to tolerate, in the Church of England, Puritanism as it was then understood, he was fighting the battle of tolerance, though more on his own account than on account of the nation. Carlyle, with the melancholy exclusiveness which is an inevitable defect of his qualities, has remarked that the only notable things in England in the time of James were “the Puritan Gospel and Shakespeare's plays;” but he failed to add that the Puritan Gospel banned all kinds of plays, including those of Shakespeare, and that had Puritanism a little earlier had full sway, he whom he terms “the beautifullest soul in all England” at that time, would probably never have left his native Warwickshire, or have been known,

except as a fellow rustic or poacher by fellow rustics or poachers. The Puritanism of that time was a much more vigorous and uncompromising faith than that represented in its modern survivals : whatever may have been its merits, it was better adapted for the lonely veldt, or mountain side, or for the rude conditions of country or village life, than for the complexities of civilization; and its complete triumph, had that been possible, would have involved a partial return to barbarism.

James naturally imagined that it would be easier to rid the national Church of Puritanism in England than in Scotland. In England the old Episcopal organization — which James hoped to have at his bidding — remained intact. Puritanism, it is true, had in his opinion been allowed in the past far too much scope, and already had obtained a formidable hold on that portion of the nation, which, like Cartwright, was lacking in the more human elements, or was possessed of that combination of “little knowledge” and large enthusiasm which, in many ways, is so deceptive and dangerous. Still, the bearing of those Puritans who attended the Conference had been comparatively modest and reasonable; and since Dr. Reynolds had manifested nothing of that familiar arrogance which James had been accustomed to from Christ’s vice-gerents in Scotland, James had some grounds for flattering himself that, by a resolute application of the law against nonconformity, it would not be difficult to break up the unity of the party, and cause the majority of them to submit. What he left out of account was the power of the House of Commons, in which the Puritan opinions more and more asserted themselves. Having settled the matter with the bishops, he was inclined to suppose there was nothing more to be said. From his *Basilikon Doron*, as well as his speeches in the English Parliament, it is clear that he had no notion of the possibility of important troubles with the House of Commons. True, he regarded Parliament as representing the “honourablest and highest judgment of the land;” but then it was only to be assembled upon “occasion of interpreting or abrogating old laws and making new,” the punishment of notorious evil-doers, and the “praise and reward of the virtuous and well-doing.”

The high pride of James in his descent from a race of beings possessing an innate and almost divine superiority to all the lower orders of humanity, made him even less disposed than the Tudors to encourage the growing pretensions of the Commons to a voice in the Government. "Kings," he gravely affirmed, "are in the Word of God called Gods, as being his lieutenants and vice-gerents on earth, and so adorned and furnished with some sparks of the Divinity." Being, like the majority of his time, a convinced believer in a special supernaturalism, he felt that if he was to hold his own against the Pope and the Puritans, he must claim a certain Divine authority; and he regarded his office as "mixed between the ecclesiastical and civil matters," and himself as thus supreme both in Church and State. Mere abstract theories as to the relative powers of King, Lords, Commons, and Ecclesiastics are however, in a sense, of no moment. Their actual and relative powers were even then being modified by influences which could only be temporarily withstood. The spread of education, the dissolution of feudalism, the increased complexity of social conditions and, especially, the revolt from the Papacy, all tended to foster in England a sense of personal individuality, and to promote the claims of the community to a more distinct form of self-government; and in the House of Commons this feeling was more and more finding expression. That it should find expression was not of immediate consequence, so long as there was agreement in their general aims between the Commons and the King; but, so soon as there was direct conflict between them on matters of prime importance, insuperable difficulties were bound to arise, as they would arise even yet, but for the fact that the place of King, Lords and Commons in what is termed the English Constitution has, though nowhere fully defined, been pretty exactly discovered by the teachings of long political experience.

Almost immediately after the assembling of Parliament, on March 23rd, James came into conflict with the Commons on a question of privilege; but after, from inexperience, blundering into a rather awkward predicament, he delivered himself from it with no small adroitness. The question was whether the Chancery or the House of Commons had the right to decide

as to the legality of one of its members. Chancery declared that he was an outlaw and therefore could not sit; the Commons declared that he was not, the Lords claimed the right to confer with the Commons on the subject, the King desired that they should confer; and, in addition to this, the King having previously consulted the judges, expressed the opinion in an interview with the Commons, that Chancery had the right to decide the matter, and further informed them that, since they derived all their privileges from him, they ought to be guided by his opinion. He also advised them to confer with the judges, and on their manifesting reluctance to do so, commanded, as an absolute King, that there should be a conference. As this did not imply that their decision could be overturned, they were induced to give way to his royal commands; and having thus vindicated his prerogatives as an absolute King, he informed the Committee of the Commons that he was now convinced that it was their province to judge of the returns, but asked, as a favour to himself, that both returns should be set aside, and a new writ issued, which was agreed to with acclamation. This technicality having thus been satisfactorily adjusted, and the Commons having been still further gratified by the King agreeing, at their request, to command the Warden of the Fleet prison, upon his allegiance, to deliver up one of their members who had been detained for debt, several matters of more intrinsic importance demanded their attention.

The varied abuses by way of bribery, extortion and petty tyranny, connected with purveyance during the King's journeys, though frequently dealt with by past legislation, still remained practically unchecked; and a proposal was made by the Lords that the purveyors, whom they euphuistically characterised as *Harpyæ*, should be discontinued, the King being granted instead, for his travelling expenses, an additional allowance of £50,000; but the Commons thought the sum too high, and further consideration of the matter was postponed till the following session. Another somewhat anomalous institution was the Court of Wards. Since, according to the feudal system, landlords held immediately of the Crown, on condition of supplying a certain number of men for war, the estate in the case

of minors was committed to the care of a Court of Wards acting immediately for the Sovereign; and when the feudal militia ceased to exist, the ownership of minors became an important source of revenue to the Crown. Although, as matter of fact, owners of land had, on the decay of feudalism, imperceptibly acquired new and absolute rights in land at the expense, and, especially as regards building rights, to the permanent and constant injury of the nation, they at this stage deemed it a hardship that this small feudal inconvenience should survive; and it is rather curious that, though the legality of the arrangement was indubitable, no one should have further discerned that they were being let off too lightly by having merely to suffer at long intervals, and never at all as a rule, this occasional toll—since they had, by the lapse of the old obligations, acquired an ownership more secure and complete, indeed too complete, and also less burdensome, than that previously possessed. The Commons proposed to the Lords to join with them in petitioning the King for leave to deal with the subject, the proposal being to offer him a sufficient compensation from the national revenue; but, after a conference with the Lords, this matter was also postponed until the next session.

The truth was that the King was always averse to new laws and arrangements if they could be avoided. He had little personal interest in matters of finance and business; and he was vexed that so much time should have been wasted in the consideration of abuses and inconveniences, the removal of which would make no change for the better so far as he was concerned, in his revenues. Especially was he disappointed that the consideration of such mere matters of detail should have precedence of what he deemed the paramount question of Union with Scotland. Naturally he expected that the great issue now within the reach of both nations, by the Union of the Crowns in his own person, should have first and chief consideration. In his address to the Parliament, he had told them that he had brought with him two gifts—Peace with foreign nations and a Union with Scotland. He was sanguine enough to suppose that the priceless value to both nations of this second gift would be cor-

dially recognised; and he was wholly surprised to find that the English Commons were disposed to occupy themselves mainly in magnifying the difficulties in the way of the Union's accomplishment. He proposed that they should forthwith acknowledge the Union in substance, and then agree to the name of the new Kingdom, the name he proposed being Great Britain, or, as he called it, Great Britany. But this proposal at once pricked the patriotism of the Commons to the quick. The more the name was considered the more did dislike to it increase. Although, according to the King's characteristic estimate of the cardinal results of his accession, the two Kingdoms were already united in substance, as many as thirteen, supposed to be wellnigh insuperable, objections were brought against a new and common name; but, of course, the whole difficulty was deep-rooted prejudice. Not only did the average Englishman—always peculiarly contemptuous of all sorts of “foreigners”—hate the Scot as much as ever, and much more than the Scot, almost a cosmopolitan, hated him, but he was now acutely jealous of the Scot; while he also deemed it the reverse of an honour to be associated with him on equal terms as a common citizen of a new kingdom. Nor could the Commons bear the thought of relegating to a subordinate place the old name of England; and they further objected that England would thus lose her precedence of Scotland. Though it was not formally mentioned, there was even a latent feeling that the English traditional overlordship was still a reality, and that Scotland, *ipso facto*, was merely a subordinate province of England. The result was that, at first, the drift of opinion set in strongly against the Union “in substance as well as in name;” but, after various explanations from the King, the Commons agreed to a conference with the Lords about the name, and it being concluded that to decide first on a new name would “cause an utter destruction of all the laws now in force,” the King consented to wave his first proposals—that the Union in substance be acknowledged and a new name be presently allowed; and thereupon the commission he suggested was appointed. It consisted of eight members, chosen in equal numbers from each House, and its first duty was to confer with a similar Scottish commission on the subject.

On account of the proceedings at the Hampton Court Conference, the Commons introduced proposals which would have virtually thwarted the policy of the King in regard to the Puritans, but the Lords declined to support them. This, coupled with their hesitation about the Union, and their stiffness in regard to their supposed privileges, made the King so dissatisfied with their apparent lack of desire to meet his wishes, that, on May 20th, he addressed them in a speech the details of which have not been preserved, but wherein, according to the Commons Journals, "many particular actions and passages of the House were objected unto them with taxation and blame." So far, however, was he gratified by the passing of the Union Act on June 22nd, that he apologised for his seeming "unkindness;" and on this account an Apology for their conduct which a Committee had been instructed to prepare was, though read to the House, not presented to him. Still, such was the feeling of soreness that remained, that a proposal to vote him a sum of money for extra expenses in connection with the commencement of his reign, was so indifferently received, that he deemed it advisable to stand on his dignity by requesting them not to proceed further in the matter; and at the prorogation of Parliament of July 17th—after the introduction by the Commons of a Bill for the abolition of the trading companies, which failed to pass the Lords—he addressed it in a speech in which he sarcastically scolded "my masters of the Lower House," and expressed the hope that they would use their "liberty more modestly in time to come."

After the preparation by Convocation of certain canons in accordance with the views of James, as signified at the Hampton Court Conference, a proclamation was made, on July 16th, 1604, that all Puritan clergy who did not conform by November 20th would be deprived of their livings. They were required by the new canons to acknowledge the King's supremacy, to accept the Prayer-book as containing nothing contrary to the Word of God, and also to accept all the thirty-nine articles in the same sense. The main difference from the old terms—which they had not subscribed—was that they had to accept those of the thirty-nine articles, which dealt with the rites and ceremonies, as well as those relating to faith and sacra-

ments. Subscription was not, however, to be required from those of the beneficed clergy who agreed to conform. Necessarily the proclamation was badly received by the Puritans : it was impossible for them not to feel that they were being hardly dealt with ; but, on the other hand, had they possessed the power—and this is curiously overlooked by those who, in modern times, have championed their cause—they would have been prepared to expel from the Church those who held the opinions to which they were unable to subscribe. The truth is that the attempt to bind the conscience and fetter belief by compulsory subscription of any kind, baited directly or indirectly by bribes, is not a godly, but a highly immoral, proceeding : although at that time few recognised it to be so, on account of the general conviction that there was to be found either in the Church, Catholic or Reformed, or in the “Word of God,” an inerrable system of Divine truth. All that can be said for James is that, though intolerant, as was also Elizabeth, of endeavours to limit his royal prerogative, his action against the Puritans was not dictated by religious bigotry, but by an endeavour, according to his imperfect lights, to suppress it. He accomplished something on behalf of tolerance and intellectual and social freedom, in so far as he postponed and modified the triumph of Puritanism ; and he failed to prevent its temporary victory, some time after his death, not because he acted, as in several ways he did, tactlessly and foolishly, or because he was wholly in the wrong in his aims, but because Puritanism—the unavoidable result, on certain minds, of the novel immediate contact with the dynamic moral intensity that distinguishes the Scriptures, and of the acceptance of certain Eastern views of life as an infallible guide of conduct and belief—was bound to run its course until the inevitable reaction.

The fact that James was at war with the Puritans tended to complicate the Catholic difficulty. He wished to do all that was possible to conciliate the Catholics, so as to utilize them, as he had endeavoured to do in Scotland, in holding in check the Puritans. Though also the gulf between Catholicism and Puritanism was impassable, James, as was further proved in connection with his later policy, was not convinced that that

between Catholicism and High Churchism could not be bridged over. He had some hope that, by preserving in the Church of England as near a similarity as possible to that in the doctrine and observance of the Church of Rome which he deemed incorrupt, he could do much, not merely to evoke a spirit of toleration between High Churchmen and Catholics, but to induce many of the less extreme Catholics to conform; whereas had the Church been Puritanized to the extent desired by the millenary petitioners, he would have needed to have abandoned all hope of this. In this connection important light is thrown on the policy of James by a letter of the French ambassador Beaumont to Henry IV., reporting that, in an interview in August 1603, James had said:—"I am not at all heretic, and yet less is it possible to say I am separated from the Church; I am of opinion that a hierarchy is necessary; and therefore I recognise the Pope as premier bishop of it, president and moderator of the council, but not its chief or superior." As regards ceremonies and other questions, he was prepared to refer them to the decision of a General Council meeting in a neutral place and composed of persons "of honour, science, and virtue." This letter is of importance, not merely as showing the real meaning of the ecclesiastical policy of James at this time, but as enabling us to discover the unity of purpose in his subsequent policy, to which historians have generally failed to do justice. It was the highest aim of his policy to reconcile Protestantism and Catholicism, by compromises on both sides; and meanwhile by indicating his Catholic tendencies, to secure through Henry IV. the good offices of Pope Clement VIII. in discouraging Catholic conspiracies. While the Pope, however, declined meanwhile to exercise his influence against turbulent Catholics, Sir Arthur Standen, who had been sent on a mission to some of the Italian States, had represented to him, through Father Persons, that much might be done with James through Queen Anne, who was secretly a Catholic, and to whom he advised that some objects of devotion should be sent to confirm her in the faith. This attempt to cut before the point greatly irritated James; and, on January 24th, 1603-4, Cecil asked Parry to require the nuncio to let the Pope know that "if any

false informers had presumed out of their own vanity to describe the Queen's mind as if she did believe in the Romish religion, he shall take his princely word that she is wronged and abused." Further his Majesty could not but "think it very preposterous for the Pope to serve himself of so improper a mean for his Majesty's conversion," and the King, harping on the old string, wished him to be informed that his faith could not be "shaken by any of those opinions which are annexed to the corruption of superstitious ceremonies, the continuation of which is no small touch to the gravity of the Pope's judgment, who should rather seek by a General Council to cleanse and purge all sides of such absurdities than to continue them, to the intent that by such an unity the schism in the Church might be taken away and abolished."

Meanwhile temporary necessities required James, on account of the rapid increase of converts to Catholicism, to proclaim in February 1603-4, the banishment of priests; and in July he also gave his assent to a new act against recusants, which, however, he resolved not to put in force unless compelled to do so : as he explained to Beaumont, he hoped that the fear of the laws would suffice to maintain them in their duty. A good deal was expected by James, both ecclesiastically and politically, from the treaty with Spain, which he ratified on August 19th, 1604. Besides making it impossible for the English Catholics to obtain foreign help for their scheme, it enabled James to occupy a position of neutrality between France and Spain, and assisted him to pose as European umpire both in politics and religion. But notwithstanding those exalted and comprehensive aims, James, under Cecil's guidance, was quite alive to the necessity of having the best of the deal with Spain in a strictly mundane and practical sense. Though England agreed to observe neutrality towards Holland, the neutrality was of a benevolent character, since volunteers were not directly prohibited from serving in her armies, and since England might do her the important service of carrying her merchandise. Spain also failed to end the trade of English adventurers with the Indies, though she ceased to suffer from their raids and their attacks on Spanish ships.

The invaluable services of Cecil in the negotiations were acknowledged by his advancement to the dignity of Viscount Cranbourne. Not only so, but his efforts led to rewards from Spain : since the treaty left so many points ambiguous that much of its value depended on securing the goodwill of the new viscount, he was offered, and—notwithstanding the extreme horror he had professed to entertain at the monetary dealings with Spain which were falsely attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh—he did not scruple to accept, from the great foe of Elizabeth and Protestantism, an annual pension of £1,000, which in the following year was increased to £1,500.

It was probably with a view to assist in completing his Utopian scheme, for a compromise or truce between Protestantism and Catholicism, that James, through the Queen, hinted at a proposal for the marriage of Prince Henry to the Infanta; but, when this was met by the announcement that, if the proposal was to have effect, Henry must be sent to Spain to be brought up as a Catholic, this part of the programme could not be persisted in. Meanwhile, although in September 1604 the banishment of priests from England was carried into effect, the Council probably at the request of James, still deferred to put in force the recusancy laws against the laity; and about the close of 1604 Sir James Lindsay, a Scottish Catholic, who in 1602, in reply to a communication regarding the election of the Bishop of Vaison, had been sent to James with a letter of civility from the Pope, was finally despatched with a long-deferred reply, couched in most friendly terms. Since the things of greatest moment were to be imparted by Lindsay to the Pope “by tongue,” it is impossible to determine the exact extent of the King’s professions and promises; but the probability is that he was dangling before the Pope the old proposal for a reunited Church, his immediate aim being to neutralize at Rome the influence of the more militant party. His proposals were bound, in the first instance, to be indefinite and tentative; and that he might have, if necessary, the possibility of disavowing them, they were not committed to writing. Whether Lindsay, a Catholic and therefore sanguine as to the Catholic proclivities of the King, went beyond his

CONFERENCE OF 18TH AUGUST, 1604.

From the Painting by Marc Gheeraerts in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

The English in the picture are ranged on one side of the table, to the spectator's right, and the foreigners to the left, facing them. The reference letters and numerals are introduced against each head in the picture itself.

English Commissioners :

- (A) THOMAS, EARL OF DORSET, High Treasurer of England, K.G. (next the window, furthest away from the spectator).
- (B) CHARLES, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, High Admiral of England.
- (C) CHARLES, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE, Lieutenant in the kingdom of Ireland.
- (D) HENRY, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, Lord Warden and Admiral of the Cinque Ports.
- (E) ROBERT, VISCOUNT CRANBORNE, Lord Cecil of Essendon, Principal Secretary (afterwards EARL OF SALISBURY).

Commissioners of the King of Spain (beginning from the window) :

- 1. JUAN DE VELASCO, constable of Castile and Leon, Duke of the city of Frias, Great Chamberlain.
- 2. JUAN BAPTISTA DE TASSIS, EARL OF VILLA MEDIANA, Postmaster General.
- 3. ALESSANDRO ROVIDA, Professor of the Law in the College of Milan.
- 4. CHARLES, PRINCE AND COUNT OF AREMBERG, Admiral General.
- 5. JEAN RICHARDOT, Knight, President of the Privy Council.
- 6. LODOVIC VERHEYKEN, Principal Secretary and Audienciary.

Commissioners of the Archdukes :

(National Portrait Gallery Catalogue)

instructions it is impossible to tell, for the word of James, on this point, is of no account whatever; but the Pope interpreted the advances as an indication of the desire of James to return to the Catholic fold; and, what was worse, he made no attempt to conceal from the world his hopes of his conversion. When James, therefore, learnt that a council of cardinals had been appointed to consult on the condition of England, and that prayers were being offered up for his conversion, he discerned that his soap-bubble had burst, and that it was imperatively necessary to remove all suspicion that he had blown it. In a speech to the Council, February 10th, 1604-5, he therefore declared that, as was perfectly true, he was as opposed to Papistry as he was to Puritanism, and expressed the desire that the laws should be "executed with all vigour against both the said extremes." This was the policy that Cecil had advised him to pursue; and that they were now at one as to its expediency was shown by the elevation of Cecil, on May 4th, to the dignity of Earl of Salisbury.

The treaty with Spain, the revival of severities against the Catholics, the now definite rupture with the Pope and the final extinction of Catholic hopes of toleration, must have reduced sincere Catholics in England to a condition of wild despair. That even before the last hopes of toleration had died out, some of the simpler and more heroic, though intellectually defective, disciples of Catholicism should, in their ardent endeavour after an effective remedy, have had recourse to a scheme so akin to those of the half-demented devotees of modern nihilism, is hardly matter of surprise: though modern apologists, naturally anxious for the good name of those martyrs to the old faith, do not shrink from advocating the theory that the so-called Gunpowder Plot was partly a Protestant creation and partly a Protestant myth. It is here, however, impossible to discuss minutely the evidence as to the reality of this astounding contrivance. All that can be done in the way of minimising the importance, or the Catholic character, of the conspiracy, has been done by Father John Gerard, S.J., in *What was the Gunpowder Plot* (1897); and his laborious, ingenious and acute criticism led to a more minute sifting of the evidence by the late

S. R. Gardiner, whose admirably balanced and masterly rejoinder—*What the Gunpowder Plot was* (1897)—if it partly avoids or overlooks certain possibilities that are hardly of supreme importance, nevertheless removes the entire foundations from Father Gerard's deftly wrought structure. Indeed the task, though demanding some patience and care, was not intrinsically difficult. At the outset Father Gerard was faced by the necessity of admitting the existence of some kind of plot, his position, so far as he permitted himself to make a definite stand, being that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine the exact origin, character, or scale of the conspiracy. But vaguely to state that "the truth regarding the transaction is not what we have been accustomed to suppose," amounts to very little, if it be admitted that there was any truth in the story at all. Necessarily much of the evidence of the conspirators is unreliable and contradictory, for they were unwilling witnesses; but they made no attempt to give such an account of their doings as would show the idea of a plot of this kind to be an invention or delusion; and it would not have been worth while to have engaged in a scheme of the kind, except on the appalling scale of destructiveness indicated by the arrangements in the cellar when Guido Fawkes was captured. The success of the scheme depended on the wholesale destruction of the King, Lords, and Commons. Father Gerard seeks to convey the impression that the elaborate gunpowder arrangements in the cellar, over which Guido Fawkes was presumably holding watch, were the work of the emissaries of Cecil; but there is not a tittle of evidence to support this unlikely conclusion; while the presence of Guido Fawkes there, and the conduct of his friends who were not immediately caught, are facts too damnatory to be consistent with their innocence. Father Gerard is further sceptical as to the existence of the mine, which the conspirators, after long labour at it, found to be superfluous on their accidentally gaining possession of the cellar. Its existence, if it did exist, remained as irrefragable proof of the character of the conspirators' evil intentions; for though they might be using the cellar merely as a storehouse for powder in

connection with a general rising, such an explanation is not available for the mine. The structural and other difficulties in the way of the mine's existence have been sufficiently disposed of by Gardiner; but it may here be added that even if they could not be wholly met, they are not, even taken together, so insuperable as would be the necessity of crediting that the prosecution could boldly assert the existence of a mine that was merely imaginary, and could compel the hostile witnesses to furnish the elaborate narrative required to corroborate the wicked falsehood.

Father Gerard is on somewhat firmer ground in protesting against the attempts that were made to merge the actual plotters in a larger body of their co-religionists : although it seems pretty certain that they had some kind of sanction for it from their religious advisers; and James was not unjustified in citing the case as a striking instance of the consequences that might result from the doctrine that it is "meritorious to murder Princes or people for quarrel of religion." The persecuting doctrines, then more or less rampant both in Protestantism and Catholicism, were bound to exercise influences of a very dangerous and unbridled character on certain minds; but sufficient reasons for disbelieving that the wiser and more prudent Catholics had any definite knowledge of the character of the plot, are the high improbability of its success, the fact that if successful many Catholics would have been involved in the common destruction, and the consideration that if it were detected before its accomplishment, or if it were only partially successful, the consequences, as the sequel proved, would be altogether disastrous to Catholicism.

It remains to ask how soon suspicions were aroused, and how soon the actual character of the plotters intentions were known? But it neither lessens the responsibilities of the plotters, nor in the least implicates Cecil, even if it could be shown that he indirectly afforded them facility for completing their plans. Not only would such strategy be entirely within the rules of the game, but, if Cecil had any suspicion of their intentions, it was incumbent on him to employ it. Thoroughly to effect their undoing, it might be necessary to give them rope; and it is at

least certain that, at some period or other, he knew more than he ever pretended to know. Even if we suppose him ignorant of anything definite about the plot until an anonymous letter, sent to Lord Monteagle, was handed to him, we cannot believe that even then he made no attempt to enquire as to its possibility. Gardiner, while admitting the likelihood that Monteagle knew of the plot before he got the letter, has been too oblivious of the possibilities of the Monteagle mystery. That there is a Monteagle mystery can hardly be doubted. If, as Gardiner admitted, Monteagle knew that a letter was to be sent to him, he probably knew much more than has been revealed. In asking, when it was delivered to him, one of the gentlemen in the room to read it aloud, he could have no other intention than indirectly to let the conspirators know that the game was up. Monteagle, be it remembered, though supposed to be a Catholic and though on intimate terms with several of the conspirators, had, apparently shortly before this, written to James professing his voluntary conversion to Protestantism. The chances are therefore, that he was acting the part of the double traitor : that while he made with Cecil an arrangement to reveal to him, in this ostensibly indirect and obscure fashion, the existence of the plot, he also wished to give the conspirators a chance of escape ; and, as a matter of fact, the knowledge that such a letter had been sent to him greatly alarmed them. Unless also Cecil, through Monteagle, knew more than the letter ostensibly revealed, Monteagle would be certain to be thoroughly questioned as to his belief in its genuineness. Had he cast doubt on this, his life would hardly have been safe ; and in the end, instead of being rewarded as he was, he would pretty certainly have been subjected to the same interrogation by torture as were the other conspirators. And even if there were not this difficulty in accepting the theory that Cecil was unconvinced of the reality of the conspiracy, there is his own statement that he and the Lords of the Council were immediately convinced that a plot was in preparation to blow up the Houses of Parliament at its opening, "while the King was sitting in that assembly." Indeed Cecil must have remembered that a similar plot had been con-

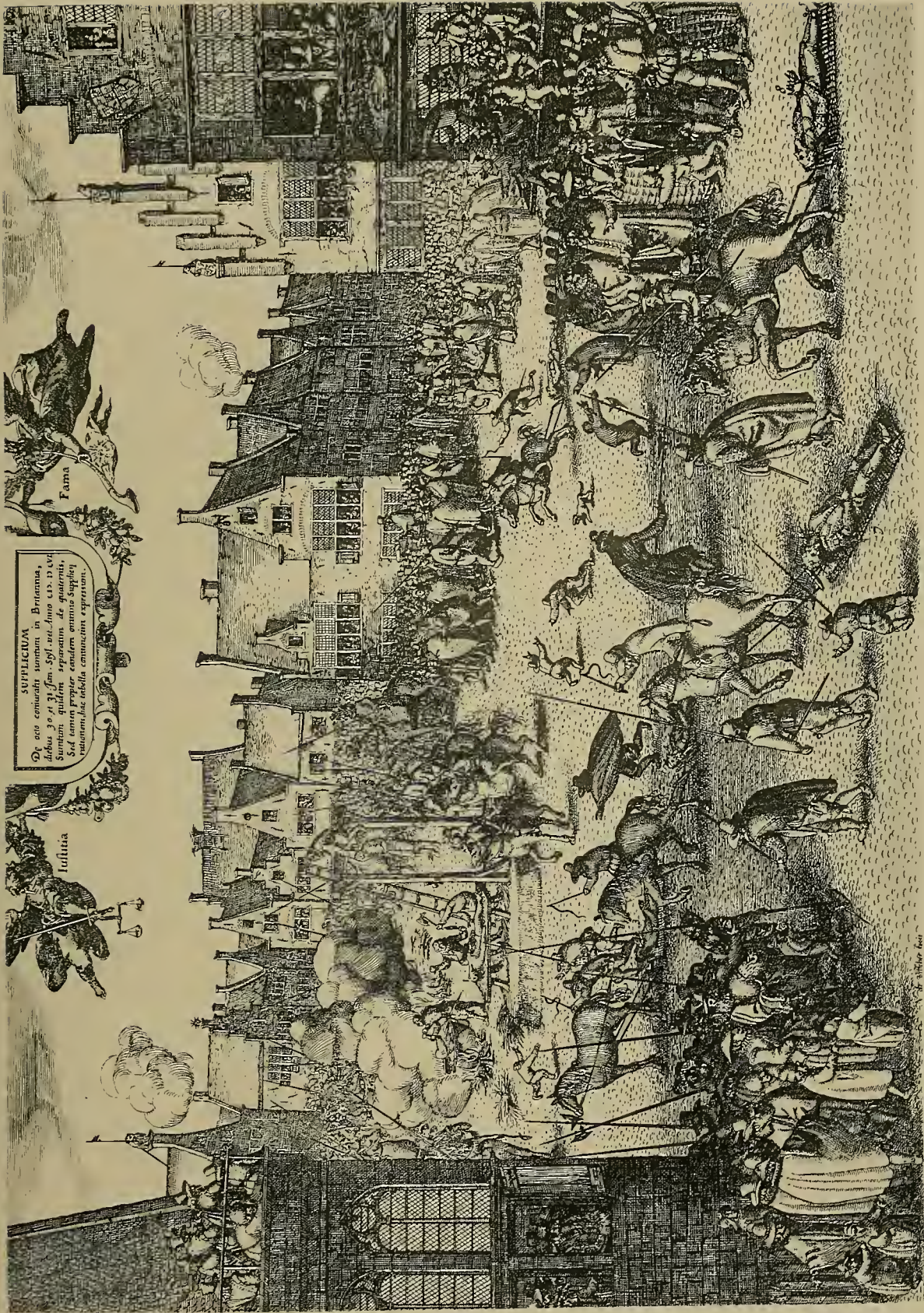
templated in the time of Elizabeth. And yet we are asked to believe that, assured of this awful possibility, the Council sat with folded hands and, without making enquiry or search of any kind, left everything to Providence, so that the discovery on the evening of November 4th of the powder under the guardianship of Guido Fawkes with his dark lantern, was "merely as it were of God's direction," the secretary "having no other cause for suspicion but a general jealousy!" Can we credit that Cecil's delay to act was due to mere disbelief, rather than to a desire not to alarm the plotters prematurely? As to whether Cecil informed the King of his suspicions, and even as to how the King was impressed by them, Cecil himself gives contradictory accounts, from which the only inference that can be drawn is that he deemed it best to conceal the real source and character of his original knowledge of the plot. The King's version—and the version, therefore, which Cecil and other officials were compelled to accept—was that Cecil himself deemed the letter the concoction of a lunatic, but that James, on account of the phrase "the danger is past as soon as you have burnt the letter," immediately divined that the plot had to do with fire, and that the intention was to blow up the Parliament with gunpowder. It is just possible that the obscure working of the laws of association did suggest this idea to the King; but to suppose that the writer of the letter intended his words to convey such a hint is, of course, grotesquely absurd; and the chances are that this version of the discovery, by "a sort of Divine inspiration," was a piece of "Kingcraft," devised by James for dramatic effect and his own glorification.

The excitement and horror caused by the discovery of the plot are beyond our realization, for in our times a merely isolated conspiracy, however diabolic in intention, can do little to affect the general sense of security; whereas, at this period, England was honeycombed with disaffection, and the possibilities of conspiracy were more than could be calculated. We may well believe, therefore, that when James, on November 9th, proceeded before Parliament to express his royal sentiments on the occurrence, he had an audience more possessed with a common sentiment

of loyal devotion and more at one with him in opinion, than in Parliament he ever had, either before or after. He addressed them, as he said, "more like a Divine than seems fitting in this place;" but doubtless they agreed with him that the occasion justified him in doing so. The speech is a curious amalgam of scholastic pedantry and worldly shrewdness, with strange lapses from dignity into grotesque bad taste. It displays some literary grace, and it is not without happy turns and phrases, as the reference to "this little world of my dominion compassed and severed by the sea from the rest of the earth;" but could there be a more ludicrous reflection on himself than that implied in the consideration that had the wicked design succeeded, "it should never have been spoken or written in ages succeeding that I had died inglorious in an ale-house, a stew, or such vile place, but mine end should have been with the most honourable and fittest place for a King to be in—for doing the turn most proper to his office?" The chief drift of the speech is the glorification of his office and himself; and thus, while intimating that he was the main object of vengeance—Kings "being in the higher places, like the higher trees, &c.," and thus more exposed to danger from tempests—and that the chief cause for the Parliament's thankfulness was that he, their King, had been spared, he also takes care to let them know that, but for his special inspiration, the calamity could not have been averted. His interpretation of the letter was a special proof of his royal wisdom and discernment; and he takes even pride in the fact that the words in the letter which he divined to refer to the explosion, could not, by any possible rules of grammar, be so interpreted! "I did," he affirmed, "upon the instant interpret and apprehend some dark phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary grammar construction (and in another sort I am sure than any Divine or Lawyer in any university would have taken them), to be meant in this horrible form of blowing up by Powder; and therefore ordered that search to be made, whereof the matter was discovered and the man apprehended; whereas if I had apprehended or interpreted to any other sort of danger, no worldly provision or prevention could have made us escape our utter destruction." Such was the heaven-guided discernment of this marvellous King!

EXECUTION OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT CONSPIRATORS.

From the Etching by Nicolaes de Visscher in the British Museum.



SUPPLICUM
De eo certum est in Britannia,
dixit a 21. Jan. 1841. Quia 13. et
Sunt in 1841. Quia 13. et
Sed tamen propter eandem animam supplicij
venerunt, hac tabella cunctis exponitur.

Fama

Iustitia

J. Smith fecit

In regard to the lessons taught by the conspiracy and the measures to be adopted in consequence of it, James showed, however, much judgment and circumspection; though he could not omit the opportunity of manifesting his mastery of the theological aspect of the question, his verdict being "that as upon the one part many honest men, seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful subjects, so upon the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds and school conclusions of their doctrine, can ever prove either good Christians or faithful subjects." The plot was, in his view, irrefragable proof that Popery was "the Mystery of Iniquity." For what was the plot? Nothing less than a diabolic contrivance—inspired by Popish principles, if not even directly sanctioned by the Catholic authorities—to take the life of a person occupying the high and sacred position of King!

The plot virtually wrought the doom of Catholicism in England. From this time there was hardly a doubt as to the triumph of Protestantism. The diabolic attempt haunted the imaginations of the people, even more than did the presumptuous purpose of Philip II. for the conquest of England. After the salvation of England from the deadly peril of the Armada, Elizabeth became more firmly established in the affections of the people; and loyalty to her was more closely associated with loyalty to England. Catholicism therefore ceased for a time to make further progress, and during the remainder of her reign was at a discount. In like manner the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot had much more than negative consequences. Even apart from the severer acts it provoked for the repression of Catholicism, it told heavily against it—especially amongst the more level-headed portion of the community, not given to partisanship, not primarily interested in ecclesiastical disputes, and neither strongly convinced Protestants nor very zealous Catholics.

Parliament also utilized the general feeling of horror and resentment to do it as much discredit and injury as possible. Immediately after reassembling in January, it passed an act that November 5th should be annually kept as a day of public thanksgiving for the providential deliverance from an unspeakable calamity; and although the formal and solemn observance

of the day has now ceased, the effect of the discovery on the popular imagination still manifests itself in voluntary and derisive celebrations. Nor content with the creation of new recusancy laws imposing on Catholics additional disqualifications, restraints, burdens and taxes, Parliament introduced a new act "for the better discovering and repressing of Popish recusants," which imposed special penalties on those who refused an oath of allegiance, disavowing the right of the Pope to depose the sovereign and undertaking not to engage in any traitorous conspiracy, even although it was sanctioned or instigated by the Catholic authorities. It is easy, in our more settled and enlightened times, to exclaim against the harshness of such legislation; but the Catholics could hardly themselves object to it, on the ground that they desired the same justice for themselves as they were prepared to meet out to others; for they were at least as intolerant of their opponents as their opponents were of them. Had they possessed the power, they would have punished Protestantism as a capital crime; and indeed in no country where the will of the Pope prevailed was Protestantism permitted to exist. Moreover, the real question with which James had to deal was one, not merely as to theological doctrine, or ecclesiastical polity or ceremonial corruption, but as to whether he or the Pope was to be master in Great Britain. As soon as religion directly touches politics it comes within the sweep of the civil law: and how far the State should interfere with ecclesiastics who intermeddle dangerously in politics is merely a question of expediency.

As was to be expected, the extreme doctrine of the Papacy, as to the sacred duty of even, in certain circumstances, assassinating a Protestant King, found its Protestant counterpart in the doctrine of non-resistance, now, at the instance of Archbishop Bancroft, enunciated by Convocation. The doctrine was probably suggested by the views of James himself, published in the *Basilikon Doron*; but James did not hold the doctrine of non-resistance in the absolute sense of the bishops. He did not deem resistance wrong to an established form of government that was wrongly established, nor did he object to resistance to a rightly

established form of government that was acting tyrannously. He held, of course, that the only divinely appointed form of civil government was that of personal sovereignty; but he claimed to be sovereign of Great Britain, not by right of possession, but by hereditary title and descent from a special caste. He also claimed that his sovereignty was in no sense limited by Parliament and that none of his acts were in any sense tyrannous—indeed James was in many respects too mild and conciliatory in dealing with offenders: what he denied was the right either of Parliament, Puritan or Pope to interfere with his prerogative, and oust him, directly or indirectly, from his independent sovereignty.

The feeling of sympathy caused by escape from a common danger was manifested in the Commons by a new readiness to meet the wishes of the King. Although no understanding was come to in regard to the ecclesiastical disputes, and a bill for the prevention of future abuses in Purveyance failed to pass the Lords, the Commons obtained from the King so sympathetic a reply to their Petition of Grievances in regard to a variety of matters, that they agreed to leave the Petition with the government for fuller consideration; and a bill granting three subsidies, amounting in all to about £400,000 was on May 15th sent up to the Lords for confirmation. The consideration of the Union with Scotland was also deferred, and on May 27th Parliament was prorogued until November 18th.

The anxiety of James for the success of the Union negotiations was in part the reason why he now resolved that the meetings of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland should be suspended “till the Union was concluded.” Apart from the undesirability that, at this juncture, there should be any revival of the dispute as to Episcopacy, it was inadvisable that the “grief of the Godly” at the results of the Hampton Court conference should have an opportunity of expressing itself in the form of a manifesto of the Scottish Kirk, or that the Kirk authorities should be given a chance to interfere, as a representative assembly, in the Union deliberations. Had the civil union been accomplished, an attempt would in all likelihood have been made, by James to effect an ecclesias-

tical union on Episcopal lines, between the two State churches; and it was therefore of high importance that no premature deliverance on the subject should be set forth by the representative assembly of the Scottish Kirk. Intimation was therefore given that the General Assembly to be held at Aberdeen in July 1604 was prorogued, and in June 1605 the Council passed an act threatening with outlawry any who might appear at an Assembly summoned by the clergy to meet at Aberdeen on July 2nd; and although on receiving a letter from the Privy Council commanding them to dissolve the meeting, and leave the town, they agreed to disperse, they also attempted to vindicate the legality of the meeting by adjourning the Assembly until September 2nd. Other eleven ministers who arrived late concurred with them; but, on being summoned before the Council, sixteen who expressed regret were permitted to return to their charges, while fourteen, who maintained their proceedings, were warded in various prisons. In order to allay suspicion that he "did presently intend a change of the authorized discipline of the Church," James caused a proclamation to be made that though it was desirable "that the two States so inseparably conjoined should be drawn to as great conformity in all things as the good of both permit," yet he had resolved "not to make any sudden and hasty change in the government of that part of our Kingdom, either civil or ecclesiastical but with grave advice and consent of our Estates, and the wisest and best sought of them whom it most properly concerns"—an assurance which the sequel was to show meant very little. The imprisoned ministers were brought before the Council on October 24th, when they gave in a written declinator of the Council's jurisdiction, on the ground that the "approbation or disallowance of a General Assembly hath been and should be a matter spiritual, and cognosced and judged by the church as judges competent within this realm;" and they further naïvely declared that they were most willing to submit themselves "to the trial of the General Assembly, that is the only judge competent." The Council repelled the declinator and declared them punishable; but, on account of the new fault of treason, implied in the declinator, further proceedings

were deferred until the King's will should be known. The King's decision being that they should undergo formal trial for treason, six of them who had been confined in Blackness were on May 18th brought before a court consisting of the Justice-Clerk and the Privy Council, including Mar and Dunbar sent by the King from London to represent his views.

The case was a sort of variation of that of Mr. David Black, aggravated by the fact that the accused were originally guilty of a more heinous offence in defying a direct injunction of the King. In the circumstances, to decline civil jurisdiction was to repeat the original offence in an aggravated form. By the King their contumacy was declared to amount to treason; and on the supposition that the accused were legally in the wrong in all their procedure, there was plausible ground, at least, for the King's contention. The first duty of the court was to decide the point of law; and that being decided against the accused, their conviction was inevitable. If any unjust influence was exercised to secure an adverse decision, it was exercised over the Justice-Clerk and the court, and not over the jury. The legal points to be decided were—(1) Had the accused acted illegally, and (2) did the crime amount to treason? Even if the act of 1592 conferred on the Kirk the right of meeting once a year in a General Assembly, the accused—in accordance with the doctrine of the Highflying party down to the present time,—rested their case not on that or any other act of Parliament, but on the inherent spiritual independence of the Kirk derived from a supernatural source. Had they appealed to an Act of Parliament, they would have admitted the civil power's supremacy and the jurisdiction of the civil court. The advocates who, notwithstanding the declinator, undertook their case, pled, however, that their procedure was warranted by the act of 1592; but this act merely made lawful the holding of General Assemblies, on condition that time and place were appointed by the King and his commissioners. The King always maintained that the General Assembly, like the Parliament, could meet only on his summons; and, as matter of fact, the time and place of the meeting of the General Assembly are formally fixed by the King

even yet, though on this point the wishes of the Assembly are respected. On the technical point therefore the law was with the King; and the only matter in regard to which there is doubt, and in regard to which pressure was indirectly brought to bear on the court, was whether the accused in defying the King in regard to his sole right of summons, and then declining civil jurisdiction, were guilty of treason. This being also decided against them, all the jury, who were now called in, had to decide was whether or not they had attended a forbidden Assembly, and whether or not they had made the declinator. This has not been sufficiently recognised by historians, even Mr. Lang asserting (*History of Scotland*, II, 486) that if Hamilton, the Lord Advocate, "really urged that to decline the jurisdiction was legally treason, the Council soon gave the lie to his statement." If the previous decision of the court be considered, it is also vain to assert, as is often done, that the Lord Advocate went beyond his duty in pointing out that there was absolutely no difficulty as to what their verdict ought to be, and in reminding them that any other verdict than guilty would be wilful error. What they had to decide was not whether or not the crime of which the accused were charged was high treason, but whether they had done that of which they were accused. And even if the Lord Advocate indulged in undue threats it must be remembered, as Mr. Lang has pointed out, that two of the ministers, Forbes and Welsh, were permitted to address the jury in very irrelevant terms, and to appeal to their religious prejudices in a manner that would not now be tolerated. By a majority of nine to six they were found guilty, the sentence being left to the King. The King desired that the remaining eight confined in other prisons should also be put on trial; but the Council having represented to him that in the excited state of public feeling it would be difficult to obtain a verdict, and that he had already sufficiently vindicated his prerogative, he agreed not to insist on their prosecution.

At a Parliament held at Perth in July 1606—called the "Red Parliament" from the fact that the nobles, according to instructions from the King, for the first time sat in red robes—an act was passed rescinding that of 1592, which annexed the temporalities of the bishoprics to the

Crown, and also another act declaring the King's authority supreme "over all estates, persons and causes whatsoever." Thus James had good grounds for his boast to the English Parliament in March 1607 : "this I must say for Scotland, and I may truly vaunt; here I sit and govern it with my pen. I write and it is there, and by a clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword." The source of his new authority was his influence over the nobles. Even before he left for England, his personality had pretty decisively asserted itself and this largely by virtue of his excellent social qualities, his love of sport, and his general kindliness of disposition; and since his accession to the English throne many had received personal favours from him, while the new glamour attaching to him as sovereign of England made them also think twice before seeking to oppose his wishes. But of course power is not necessarily identical with wisdom or right; and the question as to whether the King was justified in suspending the meetings of the General Assembly depends (1) upon whether the meetings might complicate or imperil the Union negotiations and (2) upon whether it was advisable or just, notwithstanding the political and religious arrogance of the Presbyterian leaders, to endeavour to modify the Presbyterian form of church government. The political methods of James in Scotland now resembled very much those of Tembinok' of the Gilberts :—"Here in my island I 'peak, my chieps no 'peak—do what I talk." More especially was he bent on closing the mouths of the clergy as regards politics; and, in deciding us to the justice for wisdom of this, we must have regard to their arrogant meddlesomeness, and to the particular political problems of the time. We cannot judge his action, as is often attempted, by maxims which are the fruit of later experience, and are applicable mainly to modern times. It may be that he was unduly straining his prerogative, and he may have been too forgetful of an important consideration mentioned by himself in a speech to the English Parliament in 1609;—"that when men are severely persecuted for religion, the gallantness of many men's spirits, and the wilfulness of their humours, rather than the justness of their cause, makes

them boldly to endure any torment, or death itself to gain thereby the reputation of martyrdom, though but in a false shadow;" but then he was faced by the question, could he safely allow the clergy to interfere, as they thought fit, in politics, and promote an active political agitation against himself? Was not the question very much whether the King was to rule the clergy or the clergy the King? And certainly if Gardiner (*History of England*, I., 323) be right, as seems probable, in supposing that the bulk of the people were lukewarm on the subjects under dispute—the King's innovations not being, meanwhile, of "such a nature as to provoke opposition from the ordinary members of Scottish congregations"—it is difficult to argue against their expediency from a political point of view; although harsh treatment of the clergy was bound to be unpopular. To represent Scottish Presbyterianism, as Gardiner does, as at that time an advantageous organisation for political criticism and liberty of speech, is misleading; for even if democratic criticism and full liberty of speech were necessary, or desirable, under every form of government, and in every stage of political development, the political predilections of the Scottish clergy were biassed by ecclesiastical prepossessions, artificially created by subscription of a narrow and lugubrious creed; and so far as the General Assembly endeavoured to assume the functions of a popular political Parliament, it was acting beyond its powers and endangering the State's civil independence. Granted that the Scottish Parliament, judged by modern ideas, was too much dominated by the nobility, the remedy for this was not to be found in the irregular exercise of political influence by the ecclesiastical courts of the State church—even had they represented, which they did not, the unbiassed and uncoerced opinions of the people.

As yet James had not decided as to the sentence to be passed on the six ministers; and before doing so he, in view of the meeting of the Assembly which he had summoned for November, sent down five questions to the synods, in order to win their assent to his "authority in summoning Assemblies," and obtain their pledge not, meanwhile, to interfere with "the state of bishops, nor with any former acts made in any preceding

Assembly." As most of the synods either "rejected the King's articles" or "referred their answers to the General Assembly," the King resolved in May to invite eight of the leading ministers—including Andrew and James Melville, who had been especially active in their encouragement of the recalcitrant clergy—to a conference with him in London. The letter of invitation, or command, was not couched in deceptive terms, for he made no attempt to conceal his purpose. It was to "make our constant and unchangeable favour born to all the dutiful members of that body [the Church of Scotland] manifestly known unto you, whereby ye may be bound in duty and conscience to conform yourselves to our Godly meaning, and to bear true witnessing for justifying the lawfulness of all our intentions and actions, as well concerning the whole church as the particular members thereof." It is unlikely that the King expected to induce Andrew, or James, Melville or those on whom they had influence to resile from their opinions. His main purpose was to test their temper, to gain more insight into the character and force of their sentiments and to deal with them as seemed most convenient. The first audience gave little promise of satisfactory results, for, in his excitable fashion, Andrew Melville denounced Hamilton, the Lord Advocate, as *Κατ'ἡγορος τῶν ἀδελφῶν*, which James quaintly explained to his Council, meant "the mickle Devil." Equally unsuccessful was the experiment of submitting the ministers to the ordeal of frequenting Episcopal services. It was hardly possible for one of Melville's stormy temperament and assertive personality, to restrain his Puritan indignation at the ceremonial observances now patronised by the erstwhile Presbyterian King; and a Latin epigram which he had framed, for the comfort and delectation of his associates, on the ritual of the King's chapel, having come into the hands of the King, he was summoned to answer for it on November 30th, before the English Council. Instead, however, of expressing any regret for his freak, he proceeded not only to justify himself, but to make an outrageous attack on Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, who occupied a place next the King at the Council table. Charging him with "all the corruptions, vanities and superstitions of their

charge," he took him by the white sleeves of his rotchet, and shaking them called them, "Romish rags" and "a part of the Beast's mark." However sincerely Melville may have held those violent opinions, such an insulting reply to the serious accusation against him was a high misdemeanour. That the King should allow with impunity one of his Scottish clergy, in presence of the English Council, to beard him as of yore to his face, was impossible—even if he could have afforded to have let loose in Scotland such a firebrand as Melville was proving himself to be. On the ground, therefore, of "having written a pasquil tending to the scandal and dishonour of the Church of England," he was committed to the Tower of London, where he remained, until in the fourth year of his imprisonment he was, at the request of the Duke of Bouillon, permitted to accept a professorship in the university of Sedan. His nephew James had to confine himself to Newcastle; and others were sent to the more remote parts of Scotland. Meantime, on discovering the contumacy of the Melvilles, the King had in October given orders that the six ministers convicted of treason should be banished, and that the eight yet untried should "repair to certain districts and remain there till discerned by his Majesty to leave the same."

So far the King—if he had acted imprudently or with excessive harshness, if he had stretched his prerogatives to the utmost, and had done more than was proper in his endeavours to concuss the Scottish Privy Council—had not been guilty of any clear technical illegality. But even the authority he claimed as head of the Church could not invest him with the right to designate as a General Assembly, a convention of ministers selected from the presbyteries by himself, which on December 13th, 1606, met in conference with the nobles and the officers of State at Linlithgow. The purpose of the convention was both to take stricter action for the execution of the laws against the Papists—in accordance with the new policy dictated by the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot—and to remedy "the present jars and fire of dissension which is among the ministry and daily increaseth." In order to effect both purposes, the convention, by the management of Dunbar, was induced to agree to a proposal of the King

that "clerical agents" should be appointed in every Presbytery, to assist the Council with information and other help. They were to receive a yearly pension of £100 Scots, and until the "Papists were repressed and jars removed out of the Kirk," they were to act as "constant moderators" of the Presbyteries, while the bishops were to act as moderators of the synods. Some have seen in this somewhat clever, though fantastic, proposal a crafty device to prepare the way for the more complete introduction of Episcopacy; but there is every reason to suppose that James was really possessed with a new zeal against Papal conversion; and, apart from this, he probably aimed to establish a complete system of espionage over the Protestant clergy, so that any inclined to political interference might be immediately dealt with. Legally such a convention was not entitled of course to do more than recommend the adoption of the scheme; but James on January 3rd, 1607, issued a letter to all Presbyteries, desiring them to "conform themselves to the ordinances and conclusions of the General Assembly under the pain of rebellion."

Meantime the cause of the Union—which had led the King to adopt, in Scotland, such exceptional ecclesiastical precautions—was faring by no means well in the English Parliament. The joint commission of the two countries, which had met at Westminster from October 20th to December 6th, 1604, had prepared a report, which, although not recommending an immediate incorporating Union, proposed several important provisions, which formed together a considerable advance in that direction. The main difficulty was as to the difference in laws. On account of a clause in the act appointing the English commission, "that it was not His Majesty's mind to alter or innovate the fundamental laws, privileges and good customs of the Kingdom of England," the Scottish Parliament also, though fit to promise that nothing should be concluded "derogating from the fundamental laws, ancient privileges, and rights, offices, dignities and liberties of the Kingdom." There was thus on this point a deadlock; for England, at that period, would have agreed to a Union only on condition that Scotland wholly lost its individuality as a kingdom, and became a mere province of

England. Not only so, but this difficulty proved in the Commons a barrier to the acceptance of any of the recommendations of the commission except those of very minor moment. Of the recommendations, the most important were (1) the establishment of free commercial intercourse between the two countries, and (2) the naturalization in each kingdom of all persons born in the other. A third recommendation was the abolition of the hostile laws and regulations of England against Scotland, and of Scotland against England, including the Border Laws and customs; but although, with the Union of the crowns, peace was established between the two countries, even this recommendation was not adopted without much haggling, especially as to the use of the term "Union." "It seemed," wrote Sir Thomas Wilson to Salisbury, "they thought the word 'Union' a spirit, for they shunned the very shadow and the name of it." On August 8th, 1607, the Scottish Parliament was induced by James to "allow the treaty," with a proviso "that the same should in like manner be ratified by the Parliament of England," and on condition that the kingdom "should remain an absolute and free monarchy, and the fundamental laws receive no alteration;" but the eloquence both of Bacon and the King failed to induce the Commons of England to give their sanction to a single recommendation of the commission. On the last day of March 1607, James addressed the Commons in a speech, admirable alike in manner and substance and showing both a thorough mastery of the cardinal bearings of the question and a perfect understanding of the temper and prejudices of the Commons; but although he excused their natural hesitancy in a matter of such novel importance and told them that "if they would go on, it mattered not though they went with leaden feet, if only they would go on," he found it impossible to persuade them to venture on the faintest movement towards the attainment of his supreme desire — "a perfect Union of Laws and Persons, and such a Naturalizing as may make one body of both Kingdoms under me your King that I and my posterity (if it please God) may rule over you to the world's end." No doubt, his own glorification counted always for much with James : to be the first sovereign

of this United Kingdom would be a unique honour ; but his speeches, equally with those of Bacon, show that he also fully understood the high political importance of the question. This however cannot be said for the Commons. The niggling and narrow-spirited character of the discussions there—apart, that is, from Bacon's speeches—are a melancholy witness that, whatever virtues the House then possessed, its statesmanship was as yet in the merely rudimentary stage. Not only were the bulk of its members insensible to the attraction of a great political idea, but their interest in politics was extremely self-centred. In the matter of the Union they were, it is to be feared, only “little Englanders” of a very bad type—mainly dominated by what Hume terms, “the vulgar motives of national antipathy.” All things considered, this was perhaps not surprising ; but such a lack of higher patriotism in the Commons is at least hardly an indication that in the contest between them and James on other matters, the political enlightenment was all on their side. The longer they discussed the proposals of the commissioners, the more manifold and insuperable became their objections to them. If the majority did not quite agree with Sir Christopher Pigott, that it was no more reasonable to unite Scotland to England than to place a prisoner at the bar upon an equal footing with a judge upon the bench, they were almost all at one with him that the proposal was unreasonable enough to be wholly out of the question. They declined to pass an act of general naturalization until there should be first a union of laws, to which it was of course known that the Scots were not disposed to agree and which in any case would require long discussion ; and thus the whole subject of the Union was indefinitely postponed. So resolute were they to commit themselves to nothing, that they refused even to accept the opinion of the judges that the *post nati*, that is those born after the accession of James to the English throne, were born within the King's allegiance, and entitled to the full privileges of citizenship in both countries. Gardiner, with characteristic charity, especially where the Commons are concerned, opined that they were influenced in this decision by their “common sense” and also by

a desire to "put the important question before them on a wider basis;" but was not their main aim to shelve the question? And was their "common sense" vindicated by any evil consequences that ensued when, in June 1608, Chancery decided in favour of the *post nati*? Or rather must we not agree with Spedding and with Bacon "that while the union of laws asked a great time to be perfected both for the compiling and the passing," the sooner naturalization took place the better; for "it settled that part of the question which was most important. The remaining marks of separation might retard the Union between the English and Scotch of that generation, but in the next generation they would have disappeared altogether."

The only immediate and palpable result of the Union of the Crowns was the quieting of the Borders—the extinction of the picturesque raids and adventures and clan feuds, which, although supplying admirable themes for the balladist and lending a spice of excitement to the monotony of pastoral life, were the occasion of much chronic misery, and were quite incompatible with settled prosperity and social progress. For the repression and punishment of crime within the districts now designated the "Middle Shires," there was appointed in 1605 a joint commission of five English and five Scottish members, the drastic and arbitrary character of whose proceedings against the raider families in Scotland—where was found the greater difficulty in the repression of the old habits—originated the proverb in reference to Jeddart Justice: "hanging a man first and trying him afterwards." Sir William Cranston, who was appointed to the command of the twenty-five mounted police to patrol the Scottish districts, obtained an indemnity for executions done without trial. Besides the wholesale execution of the most refractory, a system of removal to other districts was adopted; and many of the more adventurous spirits were sent to take service in the Netherlands and elsewhere. So effectual were these measures that Dunbar, the chief Scottish commissioner, was able, in 1609, to report that the Middle Shires "were as peaceful and quiet as any part in any single kingdom in Christianity;" but he did not add that the peace and quiet were largely those of desolation and solitude.

The Western Highland regions were also being gradually reduced to order and tranquillity. The project of the "gentlemen adventurers" in Lewis proved a failure; and in 1610 they disposed of their claims to Mackenzie of Kintail; but the chiefs of the Southern isles were in 1608 entrapped by Lord Ochiltree, after which they agreed to certain regulations for the repression of disorder and lawlessness, known as the "Band and Statutes of Icolmkill." On the western mainland the repression, or rather the extinction, of the Macgregors had been entrusted to the Earl of Argyll, who continued to discharge his trust with pitiless persistency.

Next to the Union, the matter which during those years gave most anxiety to James was how to deal with the Catholics; and the new phase of this question produced by the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, coloured also to some extent his foreign policy. His main aim in his stern attitude towards Catholicism was to break down that principle in it, which made it impossible for him to depend on the loyalty of his Catholic subjects; and he would probably have been satisfied with an intimation that no conspiracies against him would be condoned by the Pope. Having disclaimed to interfere with the Catholic belief in the Pope's powers of excommunication, he claimed the right to receive from his Catholic subjects civil and temporal obedience. Not to have insisted on this, would, in fact, have been equivalent to the renouncement of his sovereignty or his Protestantism. Both he and Paul V. were consistent from their own point of view; but since the Pope's supremacy in England, whatever its Divine sanction, could not be enforced, it was for him, in the interests of the English Catholics, and not for James, to discover a *via media*.

The question of the Oath of Allegiance created much doubt among the English Catholics, some being prepared to take it as it stood, others being of opinion that some reservation might be made to save the Pope's authority, while a pretty large minority were resolved not to have anything to do with it. It was therefore resolved to lay the matter before Paul V., who, being advised by Henry IV. of France that it would be rash to do anything that might exasperate the situation, sent a secret agent to James to express the hope that he would not enforce it. As no alternative was

mentioned, the mission was a failure; and on September 22nd, Paul V. issued a breve pronouncing it unlawful, as "containing many things contrary to faith and salvation." The breve was not addressed to Blackwell the archpriest—who favoured the taking of the oath—and professing, on account of the irregularity of its transmission, to have doubts of its genuineness, Blackwell did not publish it. Previous to this, though the recusancy laws, in their new and severer form, were being enforced with great vigour, James had been refraining from putting the laws as to the Oath of Allegiance into full execution; but the oath was now ordered to be administered to all Catholics, the laity who refused being condemned to penalties of a *præmunire*; while three priests, who had been tried for returning after banishment, were on their refusal to take it condemned to execution: on one the sentence was actually carried out, the other two escaping only through the intercession of the French ambassador. Blackwell, the archpriest, on being sent to the gatehouse, not only, however, agreed to take the oath, but advised other Catholics to follow his example. He may have hoped that the Pope would be influenced by a regard to their very hard case; but Paul V. did not possess a nature accessible to such considerations. Another breve against the oath was therefore signed on August 23rd, and on the 28th, Cardinal Bellarmine wrote a letter to Blackwell condemning the oath as "tending to transfer the head of the church in England from the successor of St. Peter to the successor of Henry the eighth." This was not quite correct, for as yet James had not claimed to be the head of the Catholic Church in England—though this was merely because he denied its existence as a church. Bellarmine's letter came too late to prevent Blackwell taking the oath; and as it did not induce him to recant, he was on February 1st, 1608, deposed from his office. Moreover, Blackwell's hesitancy had become contagious, and affected even Birkhead his successor. A very large number of Catholics—now known as schismatics—had already taken the oath, and few of them were disposed to go back on it, for they really had no objections to give the King their full temporal obedience, and hoped that they would thus gain ultimately a pretty complete toler-

ation for their religion. Birkhead, therefore, on account of the "miseries and dissensions of the people," hesitated to advise that the oath should not be taken, but proposed that the matter might be compromised by the issue of a breve enjoining them to "abstain from all treasonable attempts, and to manifest towards their King the true allegiance of dutiful and faithful subjects." Through the controversy of the King with Bellarmine matters had, however, now gone too far to permit of a friendly arrangement; and the general result of the Pope's rigorous conceptions of his duty was that Catholicism in England underwent great diminution.

In a matter of ecclesiastical dispute it was impossible for James to refrain from airing his learning, and his skill in theological fence. He had already, though anonymously, given to the world his opinions on the Gunpowder Plot; and having, in November 1607, failed to obtain favourable consideration from the Pope for certain suggestions similar to those made by Birkhead, he in February 1608 issued an *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, in which his powers as a religious and political disputant were seen to great advantage, and the unreasonableness of the Pope's breves were, from the point of view of a Protestant sovereign, exposed with much plausibility. In October a reply to James was published by Bellarmine, writing as Matthaeus Tortus. Against James he made a very telling, though irrelevant, point, by a reference to the friendly overtures James had made to Clement VIII., and especially by the production of a letter in which James has asked that a Cardinal's hat should be given to a Scotsman, Chisholm bishop of Vaison. The main sting in the reference was that the letter began with the customary address "*Beatissime Pater*," and ended with the complimentary formality "*Beatitudinis vestrae obsequen- tissimus filius*;" but it was also inconvenient that James should acknowledge his overtures in regard to the promotion of Chisholm. He therefore induced Balmerino, who had been secretary at the time, and who was a Catholic, to confess that he had got the letter penned, that the King had signed it with other documents without knowing its purport, and that the expressions at the beginning and end had been added after the King's signature

was attached to it. Before making the confession Balmerino was assured of his life and goods; and, though convicted of treason and condemned to death, he suffered no worse penalty than confinement within a certain area. His guilt is a question of probabilities. If he took upon him to do what he confessed, the crime was astoundingly impudent. That the compromising phrases were added after the King signed the letter, is quite credible; but the letter itself could hardly have been concocted without the King's sanction, or if it was, Balmerino was far too lightly dealt with. True the crime, if crime it was, was so exceptional that without his confession it would be difficult to establish his guilt; but his merely nominal punishment suggests that his confession was at least in part false. That James should have boastingly classed his victory over him with his triumph over the Master of Ruthven, and his discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, and should have adduced all three as evidence of the appropriateness of his name James, i.e. Jacob, is also not reassuring as to the fairness of the methods by which the victory was won.

The attitude of Paul V. towards James led James meanwhile towards a policy of more distinct separation from Spain. Owing to the cessation of hostilities in the Netherlands, March 31st, 1607, Spain was left at greater liberty to renew her intrigues in Ireland, which was specially exasperated by the severe restraints on the Catholics, and the rebel chiefs of which had been appealing to Spain for help. This induced James to make proposals, sincere or not, for a marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Duke of Savoy and to adopt, at first a dubious attitude towards the States. But the continued irreconcilable attitude of the Pope, made impossible a definite understanding with Philip III., who was now proposing a marriage alliance with France. On the rejection of this proposal by Henry IV., James recognised that his true policy was to join with Henry in supporting the States; and a league with them was therefore signed June 10th, 1608. Through the joint representations of France and England, Spain, while attempting to save her honour by refusing to acknowledge the independence of the States, agreed to a truce signed at Antwerp

PHILIP III. OF SPAIN.

From the Painting by Pantoja de la Cruz in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court Palace.



March 30th, 1609, by which the States during the twelve years that the truce was to last were to be treated as independent, and Spain, while reserving her right to prohibit their traffic with Spanish territories in the Indies, undertook not to interfere with their trade with other native states. Though Spain thus in words reserved the right to resume her authority over the States, and hoped to have an opportunity of yet doing so, the truce was at least a confession of her present impotence. It was a sign that the predominance of this great Catholic power in Europe was on the wane, and it marks the beginning in Europe of a new political era. Henceforth Spain, however gallantly she might strive, by marriage alliances and by an offensive alliance with the Austrian branch of the Hapsburg House, to avert her fate, gives evidence that she has passed the climax of her fortunes, and that the period of decadence has begun; whereas Britain, having survived without damage the manifold perils to which in the sixteenth century her Protestantism had exposed her, is now about to enter on her great career as a maritime and colonizing power, and begins to lay the foundations of her world-wide empire. One of the main causes of the new political situation was the Union of the English and Scottish Crowns and the consolidation of Britain in the interests of Protestantism. So long as England and Scotland were disunited, so long was there danger to the one or the other country from Spanish ambition. With the Union of the Crowns not only had the long cherished hopes of a Spanish conquest of England to be abandoned, but a strong Protestant power had been created, which was soon to outrival Spain in resources. Hence the significance of the statement of James that one of the gifts he brought to England was peace; though he could not realize the full extent of the changed circumstances, and especially the full extent of their consequences on the fortunes either of Spain or England. What he more immediately discerned was that the worst dangers of Britain were past, that there was no immediate cause for anxiety as to the designs of Spain, and that the question of Spain's relations to the States concerned France more than it did England; and what Spain came to discover was that with France and Britain prepared ultimately to support the inde-

pendence of the States, the odds were altogether against her efforts to subdue them. But the truce once granted, it was impossible for Spain to recover her lost ground, and the States and England now begin to outrival her as maritime powers. Chief contributory causes to this were the buccaneering exploits of Drake and the destruction of the Spanish armada, which almost shattered for ever her naval repute; and a new contest for maritime supremacy was now beginning between Britain and the States, the last effects of whose fierce rivalry was the Boer war only lately ended.

Before the truce of Antwerp the first English colony had begun to get a footing in Virginia; and thus the commencement of the reign of James in England saw—in consequence of the Union of the Crowns, and the brilliant exploits of Drake—the foundations laid of a colonial empire whose full expansion was indeed impaired by the fatal quarrel with the American colonies, but which, as it at present exists, is an astounding testimony to British energy and enterprise, and proffers unique possibilities of advancement, which can be impeded only by fatal lack, on the part of Britain, of courage or foresight.

A few days before the signature of the Antwerp treaty an event happened which was vitally to affect both the near and the remote future of European politics. This was the death of the Catholic Duke of Cleves. The succession was claimed by two Protestant princes—the Elector of Brandenburg and the Palatine of Neuberg, who agreed to hold it jointly until the dispute between them was decided. This was because, meanwhile, they had to defend their rights against the action of the Emperor, who ordered the Archduke Leopold to lay claim to the Duchy by seizing Juliers. Although certain complications afforded him a plausible excuse for intervening, he was influenced by the strong strategic position of the Duchy, which imposed upon him the necessity of protecting the interests of Catholicism and the House of Hapsburg. The occupation of the Duchy by a Protestant prince involved a twofold calamity to the Hapsburgs, and that of a momentous character: on the one hand it closed the gateway of Spain to the Netherlands, and on the other it brought the Netherlands into contact with Southern Germany. But that being so, neither Holland nor the

princes of the Protestant German Union could permit Austria's interference; and having decided, at all hazards, to uphold the claims of the Protestant "possessioners" they applied for support to England and France. To Henry IV. the question was almost as vital as it was to the princes of the Protestant Union, for the occupation of the Duchy by a Protestant would be an effectual barrier against the ambitious aims of the House of Hapsburg on the northern borders of France. He was then engaged in other designs to check the advance of the Spanish branch of that House, and was in no mood to brook a new menace to his security from this movement of the Austrian branch; on the contrary nothing could better complete his plans than the providential heirship of the Duchy by a Protestant. Happily James, though not partial to a bold foreign policy, recognised that to thwart Austria in her present purpose might be enough to settle the question of Spanish dominance in the Netherlands, and taking into his own pay 4,000 troops who had been in the Dutch service, he sent out Sir Edward Cecil to command them. This decision, not of high importance in itself, was rendered so by the sudden death of Henry IV. by the knife of the fanatic Ravallac as he was setting out to join his army. On the death of Henry, James declared that, with or without France, he would support the Protestant Princes. His aid would probably have been sufficient in itself; but the fact that an agreement between him and France had already been made, probably turned the scale so as to induce the French government, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Papal nuncio, to carry out this portion of the late King's programme. The surrender of Juliers thus became inevitable, and it was given up to the French on August 22nd. Three days before this a treaty for mutual defence had been signed between France and England; but with the death of Henry IV. the political situation in Europe had undergone a change, the momentousness of which is hardly calculable. Though not one of the great personalities of the world, Henry was the boldest and ablest European sovereign of his time; and the influence he exercised on the European situation was exceptional from the fact that, though latterly a Catholic, his

political necessities or ambitions compelled him to act with the Protestants in thwarting the designs of the House of Hapsburg. Thus, had he lived a little longer, the struggle, known as the Thirty Years War, would either not have happened or would have been greatly modified; and France might have so extended her authority, that her influence in Europe would have become even doubly greater than it now is. By his death the determined hostility of France to Spain was changed into a friendly alliance with her. It left the way open for the conclusion in June 1611 of the double matrimonial project—the marriage of the young King Louis XIII. to the Infanta of Spain and of the Princess Elizabeth of France to Philip, the second Spanish prince. To James the arrangement must have seemed doubly unfortunate, for it robbed him of the possibility both of a French and Spanish matrimonial alliance. Not improbably, had Henry IV. survived, a double English, instead of Spanish, matrimonial alliance might have been made by France, though the death of Prince Henry would have rendered futile the one half of the arrangement. But a matrimonial alliance with France having been rendered less desirable, if not impossible, by the death of Henry IV., James had been induced by the hints of the Spanish ambassador to renew his request for the hand of the Infanta for Prince Henry. His motives were partly the largeness of the dowry, but he was also anxious for alliance with a royal house of equal dignity to his own. There was then also the possibility that the House of Stewart might thus add to its inheritance the empire of Spain, while the alliance would be an important step towards his grand project for the reunion of Christendom. Though, partly on account of the rebuff he now met with from Spain, he in May 1612 entered into an alliance with the Princes of the Protestant Union, and in this connection arranged for a marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine, he at a later period also renewed his chase of the Spanish will-o'-the-wisp.

In Ireland and Scotland two notable arrangements had meanwhile been carried out—in the one country the Plantation of Ulster, in the other the full establishment of Episcopacy. Both arrangements were arbitrary, both of necessity gave deep offence to a large number of the King's sub-

jects, and both have been characterized by many as serious political blunders — although in each case James had clearly only a choice of evils. In the case of Ireland arbitrary proceedings of some kind were necessary if his hold on the country was to be retained; but besides, James had the same opinion of the native Irish as of the Scottish Highlanders — that their civilization was hopeless except by very trenchant methods. True, the remedy was in its essence tyrannical and unfair, and it may also have been applied too rigorously and with less respect than was possible to native rights; but for a serious disease the remedies are often painful. Those whom long habit has rendered averse to settled rule or to the adoption of the customs of a more advanced civilization, are bound to feel the discipline necessary for their reclamation somewhat unpleasant; but, for all that, the discipline may really be a blessing in disguise. The question here is not as to the rights or wrongs of the conquest of Ireland. In politics, mere quixotism has no place; and a ruler, however desirous to do justly and love mercy, cannot undo all the evil deeds of the past, or fully right its wrongs — no more than he can escape their nemesis. Even had considerations of high morality prompted James to demit his sovereignty of Ireland, and leave it to wrestle alone with its internal feuds and its native barbarism, its alliance with Spain would have endangered the safety of Britain. He had no option but to retain his hold on it, and do the best he could to render it loyal and contented. And if the Plantation of Ulster be one of Ireland's wrongs, it was highly successful in at least its main purpose of thwarting rebellious purposes, and of ultimately promoting prosperity. If anything, it indeed exasperated the bitterness between the two religious creeds; but had Ireland remained an entirely Catholic country its relations to Protestant Great Britain would not have been more satisfactory than they now are. However unpleasant it might be to the native Irish, a strong Protestant settlement in Ireland was of immense consequence to Britain. Indeed the solution of the Irish difficulty would, from a British point of view, have now been nearer than it is, had a similar method of dealing with disaffection been adopted in the southern regions.

The problem with which James had to deal in Scotland, was in a sense less complex and difficult than the Irish problem. If complete political unity had not yet been effected between England and Scotland, Scotland was not humiliated by the rankling consciousness of subjection; and the old feelings of discord and jealousy between the two nations were certain to yield to the ameliorating influence of time. Nor was the Catholic difficulty in Scotland so acute or dangerous as it was even in England; while, by his accession to the English throne, James could no longer be bullied either by the nobles or the clergy. Still the increase of Puritan sentiment in England, and the latent discontent among the Scottish Presbyterians at its suppression, of which James was fully aware, rendered it advisable that he should make the most of the advantage given him by his English sovereignty, to complete the ecclesiastical polity in Scotland which he had all along aimed at. He removed his ban from the meetings of the General Assembly; but it was now seen that he wished to model it as nearly as possible after Convocation, and to make its legislation wholly dependent upon royal sanction. By the watchful care of the constant moderators, commissioners to the Assembly, summoned by him to meet at Glasgow in July 1608, were chosen of such a type that they were unlikely to insist on raising awkward questions regarding the King's previous dealings with them. The Assembly's main attention was directed to the congenial task of prosecuting the recalcitrant Catholic earls; and the difference of opinion that prevailed in regard "to the external government and discipline," was referred to a commission whose main aim was to shelve the subject. The commission was to consult with the King, but nothing came of this except a more resolute pursuance by him of his joint policy of repressing Catholicism and of assimilating the government of the Scottish Kirk to that of the Church of England. In February 1610 the detective functions of the constant moderators were rendered more effective by the establishment of two courts of High Commission, modelled on that of England, for the trial of offences "in life and religion," with right of punishment by fines and imprisonment. Not only also was great

care taken in the selection of the commissioners for the forthcoming meeting of the Assembly at Glasgow in May, but James instructed Dunbar to distribute a sum, amounting to 10,000 merks, among such persons as the Archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews should "hold fitting" to receive it. By this assembly all obnoxious proceedings of the King were fully ratified:—(1) the Aberdeen Assembly was declared unlawful, and the Assembly acknowledging that the indiction of Assemblies belonged to the King, humbly requested him to do them the kindness of summoning an Assembly once a year; (2) bishops were to be moderators in diocesan synods, were to authorise sentences of excommunication before they could be passed, were to have a veto on presentations to charges, and after consultation with the ministers of the bounds, were to decide as to deposition; and (3) every minister before admission to a charge was to take an elaborate oath in regard to the King's temporal and ecclesiastical supremacy modelled closely after the Elizabethan statute of 1559. Finally, to secure the necessary divine efficacy and authority for the Jacobean Episcopacy in Scotland, Archbishop Spottiswoode and two other bishops were summoned to England to obtain consecration from three English bishops—York and Canterbury being debarred from taking part in the ceremony, lest on that account the Church of England should claim any ecclesiastical supremacy over the Scottish church. The acts of the Glasgow Assembly were in 1612 ratified by Parliament, with the addition that Bishops were delivered from subjection to the Assembly. The elaborate ecclesiastical devices of James were not without their grotesque features, but for the aim he had in view they were ingenious and clever enough. Their arbitrary character hardly requires mention, and can be excused only as a protection against the arbitrary conduct of the Presbyterian clergy towards himself, and because of his conviction that Presbyterian parity was inconsistent with sovereignty. Neither the conduct of James nor the Presbyterians is excusable, judged by modern conceptions of civil and religious liberty; and the ideals both of the one and the other, while they are mutually destructive, were finally rejected by Scotland.

In England James had apparently for the time being succeeded in ren-

dering Puritanism practically powerless; but as a consequence mainly of his treatment of the Puritans, he was to be faced with constitutional problems that were to lead to irreconcilable differences between him and the Commons. The conflict centred chiefly round the jurisdiction of the Court of High Commission, unparliamentary taxation, and other financial difficulties, which raised important questions as to the nature and extent of the royal prerogative—a matter, be it remembered, not of vital consequence unless the King and the Commons differed radically in their aims. Instigated mainly by Coke, with whom the Common Law, of which he was an unrivalled master, stood almost for religion, the Common Law courts had been specially active in issuing prohibitions against the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts, including the Court of High Commission; and Archbishop Bancroft having appealed to the King to decide a dispute between it and the court of King's Bench, Coke boldly objected to the King's interference, declaring that "the law was the golden metewand and means to try the causes of the subject; and which protected his Majesty in safety and peace," upon which the King is said to have exclaimed "then I shall be under the law, which is treason to affirm." There are doubts as to the authenticity or correctness of this reply. As an answer to Coke's statement, it is not merely inconclusive but irrelevant, and though quoted as a proof of James's tyrannical conception of his office, it is quite inconsistent with his own very clear statements on the points at issue. Not only did James condemn in set terms the doctrine of Dr. Cowell, in his law dictionary *The Interpreter*, that the King had "an special power, preeminence or privilege," "above the ordinary course of the Common Law," but in a speech at Whitehall, March 21st, 1609-10, he very clearly, and indeed unanswerably, defined his position. "How soon," he said, "Kingdoms began to be settled in civility and policy, Kings set down their minds by law, which are properly made by the King only, but at the roagation of the people, the King's grant being obtained thereunto. And so the King became to be *lex loquens*, after a sort, binding himself by a double oath to the observation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom;

Tacitly as by being a King and so bound to judge as well the people as the laws of the kingdom; and *Expressly* by his oath at his coronation, so as every just King in a settled kingdom is bound by that paction made to his people by his laws, in framing his government agreeable thereunto. And therefore a King, governing in a settled kingdom, leaves to be a King and degenerates into a tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to rule according to his laws." Further, he affirmed that he "as a King he had least cause of any man to dislike the Common Law, for no law can be more favourable and advantageous for a King, and extendeth further its prerogative than it doeth." And, to conclude, he confessed that he could interfere with the Common Law only "with advice of Parliament—for the King and the Parliament are absolute in making or passing any sort of laws." The King's definition of the royal prerogative was therefore in exact accord with that of Blackstone, who wrote long after the chequered contest between King and Parliament was over—that it was not a power "above," but only "out of the ordinary course of the Common Law." But then "constitutional" enough though this doctrine be, it does not solve the main difficulty as to what power is to decide when the King goes beyond the limit of his prerogative, or uses it illegally, unfairly or oppressively. This difficulty was then, and ever must be, beyond solution; for even the British constitution, admirable as it is now supposed to be, is not, as no form of government can be, an absolutely perfect instrument. Its smoothness and certainty of working cannot be guaranteed like that of a piece of mechanical machinery, for its machinery is composed of human beings. Much even yet depends on the wisdom and common sense of the Sovereign and the Ministry, and the wisdom and common sense of both houses of Parliament; but since in the days of James the King's prerogative was more unlimited than it is now, and since new influences were arising to question its authority, there was then more danger of "destruction to the constitution." James justly held that, since he was supreme as regards executive power, it was "sedition in subjects to dispute what a King may do in the height of his power;" and in fact if he misused the indefinite power he possessed

“outside the ordinary course of the Common Law,” the only effective remedy was rebellion, which involved the constitution’s destruction, at least until a new sovereign was chosen.

In regard to the particular question of Prohibitions, James did not deny the rights of the Common Law courts to issue them. But he affirmed that the true limit and jurisdiction of every court was by no means clearly set down; that it was the natural tendency of every court to magnify its own jurisdiction; and that it was his office to mediate between them and see that they did not abuse their rights. He therefore proceeded to give admonition to both sides : “to the other courts that they should be careful hereafter every one of them to contain themselves within the bounds of their own jurisdiction, and to the courts of the Common Law that they should not be so forward and prodigal in multiplying prohibitions.” His real aim, however, was to strengthen the hands of the ecclesiastics in their efforts to repress the Puritans; and thus, whether acting constitutionally or not, he was bound to give offence to a large section of his subjects. One of the chief matters to which the King’s attention was directed in the Petition of Grievances presented to him by the Parliament in July 1610, was the oppressive procedure of the Court of High Commission; and because the act of Elizabeth restoring to the crown “the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical,” was “found in be inconvenient and of dangerous extent in diverse respects,” he was prayed to pass an act reducing it to “reasonable and conventional limits.” It was however impossible for him substantially to meet the wishes of the Commons. True, he had in his speech expressed his willingness to remedy any abuses in regard to the powers of the Commission of which they had a right to complain, and informed them that since it was “of so high a nature from which there is no appellation” he had “thought good to restrict it only to two archbishops;” but, stated broadly, his aim was to render it as effective as possible, and theirs to render it as ineffective as possible, in repressing Puritanism. The real difficulty with which James was now faced was that the Kingdom, even the Protestant part of it, was beginning to be

more and more divided against itself. So far as James was responsible for that division, or helped to aggravate it, so far was he responsible for the ultimate catastrophe; but it may nevertheless be a moot point whether the catastrophe could have been avoided, and whether it was ultimately an evil.

It was mainly on account of differences between James and the Commons in regard to other matters, and especially in regard to his ecclesiastical policy, that objection was made to his raising money by impositions on exports and imports, and the granting of monopolies to trading companies. There was clear precedent to warrant his action; but to be prepared against objections by the Commons he consulted the judges, who decided in his favour. Some writers, influenced by conceptions of the British constitution as it now exists rather than as it then existed, have condemned the decision of the judges as, though perhaps consonant with the letter, opposed to the spirit, of the law, and a violation of the constitution's fundamental principles. We are told, for example, that impositions and trade monopolies were made the means of evading Parliamentary control—as if Parliament already possessed control over the executive; and it has been suggested that had the judges been able to discern as we are, “the English constitution marching steadily onwards under the influence of a great principle,” they could not possibly have decided in favour of James—as if the English constitution was then marching steadily, or did march steadily, or could, under any circumstances, have marched steadily onwards to the supposed goal of constitutional perfection! The marching steadily on of the constitution meant of course, not that the Parliament should retain what control it already possessed, but that it should gain more and more control, and should encroach more and more on the King's prerogative. But at this time taxation came to be of importance, not on abstract but on concrete grounds, and chiefly on account of the predominant character of the religious difficulty. Parliament became ambitious of exercising restraint or control over the King, because of a fatal divergence of opinion between him and it. This fatal divergence was one of the consequences of the Reformation. In the German states

the effects of the Reformation were manifested in rebellion or civil war. In other great states of Europe, as Austria, France and Spain, the power of the monarch remained as unquestioned as before, mainly because Catholicism finally triumphed there, and there was no new religious movement—not even finally the Huguenot movement in France—to cause a sufficiently fatal divergence of opinion in the nation. But while such divergence of opinion as there was in England, imparted to the English Parliament a strong motive for obtaining as much control as possible over the executive, the King had an equally strong motive for seeking to resist its attempts to encroach on his prerogatives. Thus while the supposed constitutional progress could not have been effected without this strong motive, it was not likely that progress could proceed smoothly and steadily: on the contrary, the controversy was almost bound to reach, as it did, a crisis, followed by wild confusion and catastrophe. It was only after a desperate civil war that the Parliamentary party made good their claims to a share in the executive; but no sooner had they seemed to make them good and signalised their triumph by the execution of the King, than the Parliament became under Cromwell a mere mockery and derision. Neither James nor Charles manifested quite so cynical contempt for the Commons as Cromwell did, nor displayed—in the treatment of the Commons—trickery so wholly dishonourable. Cromwell in fact failed, more utterly than either James or Charles, to solve the constitutional problem; and equally with them he failed to establish a settled government. What settlement he seemed to make, collapsed, as soon as death removed from it the support of his strong personality. Two revolutions were yet in store for Britain, before the stern lessons of experience, the diminution of superstition, and the rise of other influences and of a new spirit of tolerance, made possible a working compromise between King, Lords and Commons. The theory of a sudden, or a gradual and unchequered, mastery of the executive by Parliament, fails to take account of the Sovereign's personality. Human nature being what it is, the greater the Sovereign's ability or force of character, the less likely is he tamely

to submit to encroachments on his prerogatives. "I would be loath," said James, "to be quarrelled in my ancient rights and possessions; for that were to judge me unworthy of that which my predecessors had and left me;" and he had moreover to consider his posterity. The absolutism, such as it was, claimed by James, in no respect differed from that claimed by the Tudors; and it is mere assumption that under the guidance of Henry or Elizabeth, or other sovereigns with idiosyncrasies like theirs, the English constitution would have "marched steadily onwards." Equally with James they would have felt bound to resist both the Puritans and the new powers which the Parliament was seeking to claim; and the result of a superior determination, discretion or popularity to those of James, might have been that the English constitution would have attained to a different form of perfection from that which now characterizes it. A despotic temper is almost the inevitable complement of a strong personality; and no ruler in England manifested it in greater perfection than Cromwell, who, in the name of the Lord, set both the law and common honesty at defiance. James, it is true, possessed rather a self-conceited than a strong personality; though a clever and, like others of his time, unprincipled, political schemer, his special abilities were those rather of the scholar and wit than the statesman; like many of his nation, he was too much dominated by abstract theories, and in his royal addresses he succeeded rather in irritating than soothing the prejudices of his practical-minded hearers; his bodily presence was, in some respects, awkward and ungainly, if not weak; his speech, if not contemptible, was bizarre; he started with the disadvantage of belonging to an alien and hated nation; and though not generally unpopular he never could in any circumstances have attracted the reverential fondness of the English people. It was thus comparatively easy for resistance to his wishes to gather momentum; but where his rights were concerned he was as tenacious as any of his race; and he was too accomplished a master of the subtleties of what he deemed "Kingcraft," to be overreached.

The Parliament of 1606 tacitly admitted the right of the King to levy impositions; and in 1608 a commission was appointed for the levying of

the new duties, the character and amount of which were set down in a book of rates. By their means it was calculated that an additional annual income would be raised amounting to £70,000; but even so, there was a balance in ordinary annual expenditure over income of some £82,000, although the ordinary income amounted to £460,000. In addition, there were extraordinary expenses amounting to about £100,000. The gross debt of the King at Martinmas 1608—due mainly to war in Ireland, payments in the Low Countries, the funeral expenses of Elizabeth and the varied expenses connected with the Coronation—were stated in a speech of Salisbury, February 18th, 1609-10, to amount to £1,400,000; but mainly by subsidies, by sales of land, and by debts called in, it had been reduced when Salisbury spoke to £300,000. From the Commons Salisbury asked for the slump sum of £600,000, one half of which was to pay the balance of the debt and the remainder to meet the charge in Ireland, the Navy expenses, and any contingency that might arise. He also asked, in addition, a permanent annual grant of £200,000 to meet the deficiency in the ordinary and extraordinary income.

With regard to the slump sum of £600,000, the Commons decided to proceed only by subsidy grants, the consideration of which was delayed; and before also deciding as to a permanent addition to the King's income, they desired to come to an arrangement with him in regard to the vexed questions of wardship and purveyance. For his surrender of these feudal rights they however offered an annual grant of only £100,000, which was declared by the King's advisers—probably with exaggeration—to be £40,000 less than they were worth; and at first the King expressed unwillingness to part with them at less than the value his advisers set on them, even if he received, in addition to the £100,000 offered, the supplementary £200,000 a year. The difficulty with regard to the feudal bargain then led the Commons to take up, for the first time, the question of the legality of impositions; and after long discussion they decided to include them in the list of grievances from which redress was asked, whereupon the King agreed, on the understanding of a satisfactory compliance with his other demands, to give his

sanction to a Bill, providing that no further impositions, except those already existing, should be laid without the sanction of Parliament. Ultimately, after some parleying, the King was induced to agree to a surrender of the feudal rights on condition of receiving a perpetual addition to his income of £200,000, which, according to the estimated value of the rights, would mean a net increase in income of only £60,000, though it might actually amount to probably £100,000 or more. Before the bargain could be completed, the Petition of Grievances had however to be disposed of, and although on various points he was prepared to meet their wishes, anything approaching to a full agreement was impossible : he expressed his willingness to listen to grievances and to do all that was possible for their removal; but he clearly let them know that they had no right to "meddle with the main points of government," that to bargain with him as to his prerogatives was impossible, and that it was "an undutiful part in subjects to press their King, wherein they knew beforehand he will refuse them." More especially did he declare that, though prepared to consider complaints against the action of the Court of High Commission where there was abuse of power, he could not consent to abolish the Court, "for that would be to abridge the power that is in me." And however much, notwithstanding his clear definition of his position, he might be disposed to indulge in pleasing generalities, the ecclesiastical difficulty in the way of a settlement, instead of diminishing, loomed larger the more it was contemplated.

On the assembling of Parliament in October, it became manifest that all hopes of a satisfactory settlement were past; for the firm, or rather menacing, attitude adopted by the Commons made it impossible for the King to proceed further by way of compromise. Learning, therefore, that the Commons were to demand "a full answer to their grievances" and were proposing other restrictions in regard to the contract, he informed them that, before they entered on the consideration of the contract, "his first demand was for the supply of his wants," and that for this "he expected to receive £500,000, though it would be less than would "set him clear." That the King was fully justified in making this demand is obvious, for the debts were

not incurred by him privately; but were the public debts of the nation, and were indeed mainly an inheritance from Elizabeth. So far as the Commons failed to supply money for public expenses, so far they failed in their plain duty, and inflicted injury not on the King but on the nation; and since by refusing it they were really guilty of something resembling conspiracy against the King, it would appear that the King's proposal to commit some of the members to the Tower was, whether expedient or not, not unjustifiable; for there was not even the pretence that the money to pay the troops in Ireland was devoted to a wrong purpose or was being wasted. In regard to a permanent addition to the King's ordinary income, they had it in their option to refuse or not; and so far as they objected to it on the ground of the King's extravagance, they were entirely within their rights, as they also were of course in objecting to illegal means of increasing his income, although it was for the judges and not for them to decide a question of law. The necessity for Parliamentary taxation arose with the decay of feudalism; and the main advantage of Parliamentary control over taxation was that it prevented undue oppression of subjects by the King. But in endeavouring to make use of this control in order to limit or impair the King's prerogative, or to concuss him into a particular course of political action, the Commons were endeavouring not to preserve the constitution as it then was, but to do violence to its fundamental principle. This fundamental principle was that the King "should live by his own;" and it was on the ground that the ordinary income had become insufficient for the King's necessities, that Salisbury proposed a permanent addition to it. That this was to seek a means of "evading the authority of Parliament," can be maintained only on the assumption that the authority of the Parliament was superior to that of the King. The theory that the King ought not have enough of his own to live on, in order that Parliament might have the power to bend him to its will, had—with all respect to the implied opinions of many modern historians—clearly no place in the English constitution in the time of the Tudors: no more than it has in the modern English, or British, constitution. Indeed

had Parliament possessed this power, it might as well also have had the power to discharge the King at a month's notice. Besides, the ordinary income of James would have been sufficient for his needs but for his lack of adequate control over expenditure—the deficit being mainly due to the wastefulness and peculation of subordinate officials, and to his extravagant generosity to favourites, many of them his rather needy fellow countrymen. But for this wastefulness, he would not have needed to depend on the good offices of the Commons. Still, he was fully aware of the advisability of a final and harmonious settlement in regard to his income, and also of meeting as far as possible the wishes of the Commons in other matters; and in order meanwhile to obtain supply for public necessities, he sent them a letter of which only an outline exists, but in which, besides expressing his willingness to accept an act limiting impositions, he offered to concede something to them in regard to Prohibitions and Proclamations; but since “the more he was desirous to give them contentment, he did perceive it was the less regarded,” he adjourned the House and on February 26th, 1610-11, Parliament was dissolved without any settlement being arrived at.

The unsatisfactory relations between James and the Commons rendered more unwelcome to him the news of the clandestine marriage in July 1610, of Arabella Stewart to William Seymour, second son of the Earl of Hertford and Catherine Gray. The death of Seymour's elder brother was probable, and thus by the marriage of Arabella to the presumptive heir of the Suffolk line, James or his successors might be faced with a renewal of the old Arabella conspiracy, which, in view of the possibly disturbed and dubious condition of politics for many years to come, might be a very formidable contingency. Apart from this possibility, Arabella Stewart in marrying without the royal consent had been guilty, according to the notions then, and even still, prevailing, of a high misdemeanour, which could not be wholly condoned; and indeed the immediate separation of husband and wife by the imprisonment of Seymour in the Tower, and the confinement of Arabella to less hard custody elsewhere, was not more than what both, but for the proverbial blindness of love, might have

expected. Through the intermediation of the Countess of Shrewsbury, the old custodian of Mary Queen of Scots, who was then in the Tower, the husband succeeded in arranging with Arabella a plan of escape to the Continent. The ship in which the husband sailed reached Ostend in safety; and Arabella, also, would have got safely to the Continent, had she not caused her ship to lie off Calais—on the vain outlook for her husband's ship—until it was caught. She was now placed in close confinement in the Tower where despair at her baulked affection caused her reason to give way, some time before death, four years after she entered the Tower, came to her relief. The Countess of Shrewsbury, on being questioned as to her connection with the plans for the lovers' escape, very honourably and with characteristic invincibility, refused to supply a syllable of information as to the subordinate agents, even though threatened with proceedings by the Star Chamber, involving a fine of £20,000 and imprisonment during the King's pleasure; and though the proceedings were not insisted on, she remained in the Tower until Arabella's death.

A little later, two events happened which illustrate rather strikingly how far, as regards tolerance, our age is removed from that of James, and how difficult it is for us to enter into either the political or religious sentiments of his time, or to do justice to the good intentions either of him or his opponents. Though more liberal-minded in regard to forms of religious belief than most of his contemporaries, and tolerant of all forms of Christianity which recognised the divinity of Christ, and did not interfere with his own claims to be supreme head of the Church as well as of the State, James drew the line not merely at Atheism or at the rejection of Christianity, but at Arianism; and in that age drawing the line meant the death of the offenders by burning. James claimed, be it understood, to be both a theological expert and a supreme ecclesiastical official, and he had convinced himself that Arianism was mere blasphemy, as indeed many still suppose it to be. His zeal against it had, moreover, been whetted by a controversy in which he was then engaged with the Dutch professor Vorstius, whom he finally succeeded in getting expelled

ARABELLA STEWART.

From the Painting by Marc Gheeraedts in the Collection of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey.



MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE DISCOVERY OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

From plaster casts of the Medal in the British Museum.

from his chair. Through the excitement of this controversy, James had worked himself up into the possession of as holy a horror of Arianism as he had of witchcraft; and two Englishmen, Legate and Wightman, who, equally with the Dutch Vorstius, declined to alter their convictions, even when a King proved their belief to be damnable heresy, were ordered by him to suffer the usual death of heretics by burning. That this cruelly ceremonial method of arresting heresy, so far from shocking the moral sense of the nation, did much to confirm, and, among the Puritans, to re-establish, the King's godly reputation may now seem very strange; but the simple explanation is that both Protestants and Catholics then believed that they really possessed a definite supernatural revelation of divine truth, to cast doubts on which was the most dreadful of all sins. Those who did so and remained impenitent were in their opinion merely children of the Evil One, and no more than witches or wizards ought to be suffered to live.



HATFIELD HOUSE.—NORTH FRONT.



CHAPTER IV.

SOMERSET AND BUCKINGHAM.



ON May 24th, 1612, James was, by the death of Salisbury, deprived of the councillor who had initiated him into his duties as English sovereign, and had done much to shape his earlier policy, although latterly James was more and more following a course of his own, and mainly utilizing Salisbury as his subordinate. In February 1611-12, Salisbury had been seized with so serious a fit that it left him extremely weak. Happily he outslept it and did not take another; but his recovery was slow on account of a trying intestinal complaint, which appears to have had connection with a scrofulous habit. Undersized and almost deformed, he possessed little physical stamina, and almost no recuperative power. The anxieties resulting from the extremely confused condition of domestic politics since the accession of James, crowned by the final failure to effect the Great Contract, though they did not quite break his spirit,

were too much for his weak flesh; and a visit he paid to Bath tended only to hasten the end. Had he lived, it is hard to see how he could have improved the fortunes of James, since in any case James was determined to go his own way; and though he was eager to be again at work and zealously bent on "countermining his underminers," fate probably dealt kindly with him in now granting him release. "As the case stands," wrote Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, "it was best that he gave over the world, for they say his friends fell from him apace and some near about him; and howsoever it had fared with his health, it is verily thought he would never have been himself again in power and credit."

If patriotic in his intentions, Salisbury was less a farseeing statesman than a cold, watchful and subtle political schemer. Compelled to have resort to all kinds of contrivances in order to hold his own, and pursuing those whom he deemed his possible rivals with a dexterous and relentless cunning, it was inevitable that his death should let loose many tongues, which, when he was alive, had not dared to whisper anything in his dispraise. "Those who may best maintain it," wrote Chamberlain to Carleton, "have not forborne to say that he juggled with religion, with the King, Queen, their children and nobility, Parliament, with friends, foes, and generally with all": but such detraction is partly to be accounted for by his failure to effect the Great Contract. Had he succeeded in bringing about this very reasonable arrangement, it would hardly, in its final form, have done more than postpone the financial difficulty for a few years; but the strain of irritating contention would, for the time, have been relaxed and the career of Salisbury would have been crowned with a success, entirely in keeping with the good fortune that had so long attended him. Yet even as fate decreed, and whatever the faults of his expedients, the services which his statesmanship had rendered to both countries were exceptionally great. It was mainly to him that James owed his peaceful accession to the English throne, and that Britain escaped all possibility of a bloody and prolonged internal

strife. He also lived to see not merely the termination of the war in the Low Countries, but the deliverance of England from all dread of Spanish domination. He seems to have fully approved of the King's attitude towards the Puritans, though he may not have favoured all the measures he adopted against them, nor his abrupt methods of dealing with the Commons. He was probably hampered somewhat by the King's pride, as he and his father had been by Elizabeth's whims and inconsistencies. It may be that left wholly to himself he might for the time being have evaded the difficulties of the political situation; but neither he, nor the King nor anyone could have staved off for ever the conflict with the gathering forces of the new fanaticism; and in judging of his achievement it is only fair to leave his failure to solve the Parliamentary difficulty out of account. It is enough that he did not bungle, but helped to complete, the work of the Tudors, and honestly did his best to enable the sovereign of a new dynasty to succeed in a task which, however, had become too complex for accomplishment on the old lines.

Shortly after the death of Salisbury, Bacon in letters to the King, in which he referred to his cousin as having been "a fit man to keep things from growing worse, but no very fit man to reduce things to be much better," virtually made an offer of himself as his successor: "now that he has gone," he said, "*quo vivente virtutibus certissimum exitium*, I will be ready as a chessman to be wherever your Majesty's royal hand shall set me."

In making this proposal, Bacon was doubtless actuated by ambition no less than patriotism; on his own account he preferred politics to law; they presented him with not only a more congenial but a more ambitious sphere; he was desirous to become the King's indispensable lieutenant, and from the time of his accession he had by proffering him such advice as he thought would be appreciated, systematically directed the King's attention to his capabilities. But he must also have been aware that he was the fittest man in England for the position to which

he aspired : among the eager throng of selfish competitors for place and power, he was probably the only one who, at this quite exceptional juncture, could have "reduced things to be much better." That had he obtained a free hand from James he would have succeeded in patching up a truce, or something better, with the Commons is quite credible, although the conviction of Spedding that James had only to place himself in Bacon's hands and all would be well, is far from justified by the advice that Bacon actually gave him. That Bacon could not finally have saved the situation implies, however, no necessary reflection on his statesmanship : in the history of nations there are situations that cannot be saved by any human contrivance. "If he" (James), wrote Spedding, "could but have been persuaded and been able to sieze the moment of Salisbury's death for an entire change in his own ways—if he could from that moment have laid his former character aside, and shown himself a new man—he might have, I think, succeeded." But succeeded in what? No doubt he could have succeeded not merely in obtaining supplies but in winning the entire goodwill of the Commons, had he shown himself such a "new man" as to make an unlimited surrender to them, and as to wholly reverse his policy towards the Puritans ; and this was very much the course recommended to him by Sir Henry Neville in "An advice touching the holding of Parliament;" but then this was not the advice tendered to him by Bacon ; and Bacon's private memoranda seem to show that Bacon would not have tendered to him such advice, even had he supposed him willing to accept it. Probably at one time he may have thought that a reconciliation with the Puritans, without a surrender to Puritanism, was possible ; but it is a significant circumstance that after his early suggestions as to a possible compromise with Puritanism were not accepted by James, he never again broached the subject ; and indeed in his letter of advice to Villiers thirteen years later he virtually homologated the policy of James.

Moreover, Bacon was thoroughly possessed of the Tudor conceptions as to the relations between the King and the Parliament : he prac-

FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS.

From the Painting by Paul Van Somer in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

tically intimated that the situation was to be saved rather by going backward than forward. And there was a good deal to be said for this. Indeed even Gardiner, ardent admirer, though he was, of a qualified republicanism, as the best of possible governments for any race or people, at any stage of their history removed above mere savagery, has to admit the almost total unfitness of the House of Commons, at that time, to be entrusted with any real voice in the government of the country; and this was exactly the view not merely of James but of Bacon. If it then be asked, in what respect did the proposed policy of Bacon towards the Commons differ from that of the King or Salisbury, the answer is that the sole difference was as to tact and management. Bacon, rightly or wrongly, held that Salisbury had unduly irritated the Commons by impositions, and that by his endeavours to bargain about the Great Contract he had permitted the Commons to form inconveniently high notions of their self-importance, which the sooner they were dissipated the better. What he proposed was that the impositions should be "barred and silenced," and the collection of grievances "restrained" and "put back" "till the King's business be set in due forwardness."

From his "Incidents of Parliament" we also gather that he had in contemplation a variety of expedients—not differing greatly from those in use so lately as the early nineteenth century — both to induce as many of the members as possible "to be well affected to the King's business," and where that failed, to secure, "without labouring or packing," that as many as possible of those "brought into the house" should be fit to be so in respect of "sincerity, discretion, temper and ability to persuade." He was further of opinion that the deaths of Salisbury and Dunbar had taken a "great deal of envy from the King," and "carried it into the other world;" that, by the death of other members and various changes, the opposition "was much weaker than it was and that party almost dissolved," and that they could not "but find more and more the vanity of the popular cause: especially your Majesty having carried

yourself in that princely temper towards them, nor yet to use or advance them." As to the actual course which the King was to adopt at the first meeting of the Commons, the gist of Bacon's advice was that he should "make the first parliament but as a *coup d'essay*," and devote his main attention to tuning his instrument. So far, therefore, from seeking to renew the attempt to bargain with the Commons, he should call the Parliament ostensibly "for some other business of state and not merely for money;" and to take away "all possible occasion to make subjects proud and to think your Majesty's wants are remedies, but only by Parliament," Bacon "could wish it were given out that there are means found in his Majesty's state to help himself (which I partly think is true), but that because it is not the work of a day, his Majesty must be beholden to his subjects." Stated shortly, Bacon's plan was meanwhile to bluff or outwit the House of Commons, and gradually bring it to a better temper; and in considering the feasibility of this, we must not be guided by our present conceptions of the Commons or the People. The People were then but emerging from the bondage of feudalism, and from the peculiar intellectual stagnation of the middle ages; their conceptions of personal and moral independence were almost without form and void; and the "divinity which doth hedge a King," made it seem almost sacrilege to seek to question his wishes. Under Bacon's own resourceful superintendence, Bacon's plans might, for the time being, have sufficed to meet the situation; and, as already stated, the King's pecuniary difficulties had been created mainly by himself.

With a King of the high resolution, restraint and forethought of, say, a Frederick the Great, or even the practical prudence and care of a Bacon, the great constitutional contest might have assumed a somewhat different aspect, and have had another kind of result; but it is very certain that the contest could not ultimately have been avoided by the expedient of seeming surrender. Even Bacon's sympathies, as Gardiner has sadly to admit, were wholly on the side of an executive consisting solely of the King and his Privy Council: he deemed Parliament of great

utility as a method of knitting the hearts of the people to the sovereign by the opportunity it afforded of communicating with its representatives and thus knowing the actual needs and wishes of the nation, and the character of the evils which required to be remedied by legislation; it formed also a kind of bulwark against the tyranny or caprice of the sovereign in so far as he could make no new laws without its sanction; but though not prohibited from making suggestions in regard to matters of general policy, it had practically no executive power, and Bacon had no desire that it should obtain it. Gardiner has taken upon him, as an Englishman, to declare this theory of Bacon "radically false," and "false for all times and places," except "where no considerable part of the population of a country are raised above a very low level of civilization;" and false it must have been in at least the time and England of Cromwell, if it was so in the time and England of James and Bacon. But then Cromwell, supposed by Gardiner to have been one of the wisest and noblest rulers of any time or country, found that he could not, after abolishing Monarchy, trust the Parliament—even such manufactured Parliaments as he sought to create—with the executive, no more than James and Bacon could in their day venture to trust with the executive a Parliament, with the constitution of which they did not seek, as Cromwell did, to tamper. Gardiner's position is in fact almost identical with the theory of one of those abstract constitutional schools, "the man" of whose speculations "is," as the late Sir Leslie Stephen has put it, "a mathematical unity, whose qualities might be assumed to be substantially identical in all ages and nations." Nor apparently did Gardiner see any contradiction between his comprehensive declaration in regard to the inherent rights of Parliaments as representatives of the national intelligence and will, and the admission that at this time, and indeed much later, the House of Commons was little better than an "inexperienced and undisciplined mob": on the contrary he was convinced that if Bacon could "have seen what we have no difficulty in seeing," he would have sided with the Commons and not with the King, and have set himself to secure for the "represen-

tatives of the people" a share in the executive government—a share which, on account of the critical circumstances of the time, was bound to mean supremacy. After the first round of the contest, James, though in no way harmed, should, in Gardiner's opinion, have so foreseen the future as to have recognised that defeat for absolutism was only a matter of time, and should have saved the nation further trouble by throwing up the sponge; the Tudor constitution should immediately have been abolished; and Parliament should have been allowed virtually to control the executive—not because it was better fitted than James and the Privy Council to do so, but because, with such a responsibility, it would "grow in political wisdom and self-restraint." No one can deny the "growth in political wisdom and self-restraint" produced in this country by the gradual conferment of wide powers of self-government; but the difficulty then was that the "political wisdom and self-restraint" of Parliament and People were almost *nil*, and that the nation was exposed to the influence of new ideas in many ways noble, but dangerously narrow and fanatical. Even had Bacon possessed a pair of nineteenth or twentieth century spectacles, he might well have hesitated in recommending any real surrender to the Commons, for the King might thus have very soon found himself without a scrap of initiative or authority, and virtually at the mercy of an "inexperienced and undisciplined mob." It hardly therefore seems necessary, in order to account for Bacon's failure to "see what we have no difficulty in seeing," to have recourse to his lack of "fine moral feelings": even had he been desirous to create a political Utopia, it would have been worse than imprudent to have then attempted the experiment. Had England been ecclesiastically of one mind as in the time when Catholicism prevailed, or had her ecclesiastical differences been, as they are now, of so mild a character that the most zealous orator cannot bring the nation, as a whole, to take them seriously, not much harm could have come from the gradual conferment on the Commons of a large voice in the executive government; but in such circumstances the Commons would have had no strong motive for interfering with the executive.

It was the King's attitude towards Puritanism that made the Commons jealous of his prerogative, and desirous to bring pressure to bear on the executive; but even had Puritanism been the one desirable thing in England, instead of being, as it was, a narrow social tyranny, unless its zeal had been tempered very serious complications might have arisen. To have at this time introduced such changes in the Constitution as would immediately have given it the upper hand, would have been extremely hazardous; the stream that was being crossed was too deep and dangerous to permit of swopping horses on the way over. Whether the King was or was not at fault in his attitude towards Puritanism, the duty of him and the Privy Council, at this juncture, was certainly not to place themselves under the direction of the Commons. We are indeed told that England, "always in advance" of the "other nations of Europe," was "entering like Columbus upon a new world, where there was nothing to guide her but her own high spirit and the wisdom and virtue of her sons;" but alas! whatever may have been the "wisdom and virtue of England's sons" at this time, they were not sufficient as yet to guide her to the "new world," which was to be hers; and before reaching it, she was to follow various strange devices and have several mad adventures: like France, at a later period, though not to such a degree as France, she was to become a spectacle of amazement to Europe, before attaining to her present constitutional blessedness.

To some extent James benefited by Bacon's advice in regard to Parliamentary, as he did in regard to Ecclesiastical, tactics; but he adopted his suggestions only in part, and he gave no signs of a desire to place him on his political chess-board. He may not even have quite relished Bacon's criticism of Salisbury's diplomacy, for he himself was possibly in part responsible for it: but whether or not he discerned radical differences in Bacon's political opinions from his own, the very greatness of Bacon's abilities might seem rather a disqualification than not for the office of royal "guide, philosopher and friend." James was not disposed to brook a rival near his throne, even should that rival assume the guise of a sub-

ordinate official. On the death of his Scottish Chancellor, Maitland, he had expressed the resolve not to appoint another to a similar position who was too great to be hangable. For some years after his accession to the English throne, he had hardly other choice than to place himself in the hands of Salisbury; and for full instruction in his duties of English sovereign he had quaintly allowed himself a seven years apprenticeship. That had expired some years ago, and now deeming himself master of all the peculiarities of the English political situation, he was not disposed to admit that any Englishman knew better than he the art of governing England, or knew it so well from the sovereign's point of view. What he now dreaded in England, as he had dreaded in Scotland, was that among the English nobility and high officials, there might be a lack of absolute loyalty to himself; and he could not discover in Bacon, anxiously desirous though he seemed to be to devote himself to his service, one whom he could mould according to his wishes and utilize as the merely subordinate agent of his own purposes. For the secretaryship the name of Bacon was not even mentioned in the current gossip of the day, which mostly favoured, though with a curious lack of insight into the political situation, Sir Henry Neville; and the King, objecting as he said "to have a secretary imposed on him by Parliament," resolved meanwhile to be his own secretary. Bacon even failed to obtain the mastership of the wards, for which it was supposed he had an excellent chance; and although his zeal and good intentions were recognised by his promotion to be attorney-general, it was clearly not the King's wish that he should meddle further with political matters, except by way of information and suggestion, and assisting to carry out the decisions of the King.

The King's attitude towards Bacon is partly explained by the position which, some time before, he had assigned to a Scotsman Robert Ker—or in English Carr—son of Sir Thomas Ker of Ferniehirst. He was falling back on his old Scottish habit of selecting a favourite, whom he treated privately on terms of equality, to whom he gave his full political confidence, and whom he entrusted with all the troublesome details of sovereignty,

ROBERT CARR, EARL OF SOMERSET.

From the Painting attributed to Hoskins in the National Portrait Gallery, London.



satisfied that he could rely on his diligence and fidelity, since as he had made him so could he unmake him. This method of dealing with the executive virtually meant the superseding of the Privy Council, whose duties now were limited mainly to registering the King's decisions and carrying out his behests. The arrangement may be partly accounted for by the King's habits. Much of his time being occupied by the chase and other open-air exercises—which, apart from his passion for them, were almost necessary to preserve him, on account of his peculiar nervous constitution, in proper physical and mental tone—it was but rarely that he could attend the Council meetings. The likelihood is, however, that he found the deliberations of the Council embarrassing, and that he desired to accustom it to a more subordinate *rôle*. As Ranke has noted, there was a general tendency at this time among European monarchs, in view of the social upheavals connected with the decay of feudalism, to seek to fall back on a stricter absolutism, and to become less and less disposed to allow even selected advisers to interfere with their prerogatives. Moreover, the English Privy Council was divided by private jealousies and conflicting interests, so that there was in consulting it the danger of merely aggravating the difficulties of the political situation.

But with all his seeming craving for absolutism, and his garrulous dissertations on his prerogatives, James was lacking in self-reliance; and while frequently compelled by the perils and difficulties of his position to harden his heart, he was naturally benevolent, and even something of a sentimentalist : as Carlyle expresses it, we cannot “say he has no heart, rather he has too much heart.” Carr, in his character of page, had attended James to England; but on James discontinuing in England the French custom of having pages, he went over to the continent. On his return to England he attached himself to his countryman Lord Hay; and according to Sir Anthony Weldon again attracted the attention of the King by happening to break his leg at a tilting match. From this time his rise in the King's favour was rapid : in 1609, he obtained Raleigh's manor of Sherborne—for which, however, Raleigh obtained from the King compensation

pretty nearly amounting to its value — and on March 25th, 1611, he was created an English peer by the title of Viscount Rochester. He was now deep in the King's confidence, and after the death of Salisbury the main business of the State was practically transacted by him and the King. It has been customary with historians to belittle the qualifications of Carr for the duties entrusted to him — to represent him as a half-educated, pleasure-loving and vain young man, who had attracted the King mainly by his good looks and high spirits. This is rather unjust both to him and James. Lord Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk, who was yet to be his father-in-law, describes him in 1610, when he had no cause to be partial to him, as "strait limbed, well favoured, strong shouldered, with some sort of cunning and show of modesty; tho', God wot, he well knoweth when to show his impudence." Carr was in fact both strong willed and clear sighted; and for many years he was a thoroughly trustworthy and exceptionally proficient public servant. Before selecting him, the King pretty well knew his character, disposition and gifts, for, as he stated in a letter to Salisbury, he had "brought him up of a child." His father had been the intimate friend of the King's earliest favourite Esmé Duke of Lennox, and there was thus the influence of old memories to cause him to take a special interest in the young man; but the young man was also peculiarly gifted in several ways for the special position he had chosen him to fill. As Carlyle says, he had "various qualities," besides "beauty" — "audacity, dexterity, graceful courteous ways, shrewd discernment, swift achievement in the sphere allotted to him had recommended Carr." There is abundant testimony to this effect, and it is rather curious how the disastrous termination of Carr's political career has so coloured the judgment of most historians, as to blind them to the unanimity of contemporary writers respecting his high qualifications for his position. Weldon who has much to say in disdain of James and other Scots makes an exception in his case, even in the matter of greed, and also states that he was observed "to spend his time mainly in serious studies," and that "he made companions only of those by whom he might

be bettered." Goodman describes him as "a wise, discreet, gentleman" and affirms, as in substance does Weldon, that he "did utterly dislike the bold carriage and importunity of the Scots; he knew there was nothing to be gained by them, and he did but little esteem their clamorous complaints to the King." Sir Robert Cotton also informed D'Ewes that Carr "ever highly esteemed the advice and council of grave and wise men," that he "advanced none of his name or kindred to undeserved preferment or unmeet honours," and that he "suffered no honours to be conferred but rarely, and that upon persons of noble extraction and fair revenue." Clarendon states that he was "the only favourite who kept that post so long without any public reproach from the people." Wilson affirms that "in his nature," he was "of a gentle mind and affable disposition, having public affections, till they were all swallowed up in this gulf of beauty, etc." As proof that he was capable of self-sacrifice in the public interest, Winwood mentions that on one occasion he supplied £25,000 from his own savings to meet a passing call for money. When Digby surprised the King by supplying him with a list of Spanish pensioners which included even the dead Salisbury, the King had the comfort of knowing that Carr had not accepted Spanish bribes; and though Carr was accustomed to accept sums of money from candidates for offices, he in every case obtained the permission of the King before doing so. There was perfect openness between him and the King, and he devoted himself absolutely to promote his interests, though there is evidence that his private opinion of the King was a somewhat mixed one, and hardly coincided with the King's own estimate of himself. How invaluable his services had been to the King we learn from the King's own letter to him, after there had begun to be a rift within the lute. "I am far from thinking," wrote James, "of any possibility of any man ever to come within many degrees of your trustworthiness, as I must ingenuously confess you have deserved more trust and confidence of me than ever man did, in secrecy above all flesh, in feeling and impartial respect as well to my honour as any degree to my profit."

All this goes to show that Rochester, for one of his years, possessed a peculiarly strong personality, and that under happier auspices, and had his prospects not been blighted by his fatal entanglement with the Countess of Essex, he might have achieved something of a political reputation. As for the lady, the witchery of her personal charm concealed a passionate, ill-regulated, cunning and remorseless nature, the defects of which had been unnaturally stimulated by her marriage, through a freak of King James, to the Earl of Essex when both were children. For some time after the marriage they continued to live separately; and on her husband's reappearance—at the age of eighteen—after a continental tour, she, so it is said, resolved that he should be her husband only in name; though her own version of the story seems to have been partly correct. She was reported to have made use of certain disreputable persons to practice sorcery against him; and she may possibly have sought to injure his health. At any rate her repugnance to him was genuine enough; and it necessarily had peculiar effects on a character so passionate and unstable as hers; and the position she now occupied was in many ways precarious. She is even stated to have sought consolation for her matrimonial disappointment from Prince Henry, though she could hardly have aspired to become his consort; but be this as it may, after the Prince's death Rochester was probably the most brilliant conquest she could make. That she became Rochester's mistress before she became his wife is however highly improbable, notwithstanding the assertions of later gossip. She was calculating and ambitious as well as passionate; and the probability is that she cast her eyes on Rochester partly because the Howards—her father the Earl of Suffolk and her uncle the Earl of Northampton—hoped in this way to advance the political interests of the family. But of course she would be more than willing to oblige them; for if a marriage could be effected with the King's handsome favourite, this would be a more than a happy deliverance from her domestic troubles. It also happened that the King was easily brought to favour the proposed match. In accordance with his old policy of securing as far as possible the general good-

will of the Catholics, he wished to bind the powerful Howard family to his interests; while he was probably also moved by the love-stricken condition of his favourite, as well as the forlorn position of the lady, for whose unhappy marriage he was mainly responsible. He therefore warmly seconded her efforts to obtain a divorce: having convinced himself that she ought to have it, he—in his character of supreme ecclesiastical authority, and true head of the Church of England—did not hesitate to bring undue pressure to bear on the commission appointed to try the case, or even to cook the commission so as to gain a decision in the lady's favour. The case was, with variations, very much a repetition of that of the Countess of March, who, on obtaining divorce for similar reasons, married the King's favourite, the Earl of Arran. According to the gossip of the day, the evidence was by no means satisfactory, though the story as to the Countess deceiving a jury of matrons is demonstrably false. It was probably the unsatisfactory character of the husband's evidence that made a minority of the commission oppose the declaration of nullity; though he had no objection to be rid of his wife, he hesitated to admit anything that might prevent him contracting another marriage; but the King commanded that no details of the case should be made public, and "the sentence expressed but in the terms, *propter latens et incurabile impedimentum*." Neither the divorce on September 25th, 1613, nor the lady's marriage on December 26th, to Carr,—who, in order that his rank might equal hers, had a few weeks previously, been created Earl of Somerset—caused any great surprise or much unfavourable comment, though few believed the divorce legally justifiable, the more especially that Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury refused to have lot or part in it. The marriage was the great social event of the winter—the match being doubtless deemed almost the most brilliant one that any English subject could have made, for even already Somerset seemed to wield supreme political influence, especially in regard to the disposal of offices. Thus without the specimen list that Chamberlain gives, it would have been easy to credit his statement that the presents "were more in value and number than ever I think

were given to subjects of this land." Bacon himself got a masque prepared in honour of the wedding, for which the members of Gray's Inn supplied the composers and performers and which cost him £2,000; for the Court, Ben Jonson wrote "A Challenge at Tilt," and Chamberlain informs us that at the sports "the King, prince, bridegroom and others ran at the ring." Moreover Ben Jonson, a particular friend of Somerset who affected the society of poets, celebrated the wedding in an epithalamium, concluding with the wish, which now sounds like bitter irony :—

" So be there never discontent or sorrow
To rise with either of you on the morrow."

Whatever may have been the blissful satisfaction of Somerset in finding himself at last the husband of so fair a bride, the exultations of the bride herself could hardly be unmingled with misgiving : the cost at which she had bought her temporary happiness was too terrible to be wholly forgotten even in the midst of such splendid rejoicings; for there had died in the Tower, some ten days before the sentence of divorce, Sir Thomas Overbury, an intimate friend of her husband. Overbury had made the acquaintance of Carr in Scotland, and shortly after Carr's return to the King's service in England, he obtained a minor office at Court. He also assisted Carr in his secretarial duties, and helped him in his literary studies. Being several years the senior of his young patron, and an accomplished wit, poet, and man of the world, he not only possessed Carr's intimate confidence, but in some sense acted as his mentor. He was, said Bacon, in his speech for the prosecution at Carr's trial, "a kind of oracle of direction to him, and, if you will believe him, he took upon that the fortunes, reputation and understanding of this gentleman proceedeth from his company and counsel." It would appear that he had assisted Carr in writing *billets doux* to Lady Essex; possibly he even composed verses to aid his patron in his suit; but, when he discovered that Carr was engaged not in a mere intrigue but in a serious suit for the lady's hand, he did all he could to deliver him from his infatuation.

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY.

From the Painting in the Collection of Viscount Dillon at Ditchley, Enstone, Oxfordshire.



According to Bacon, his motives were that he desired not "any partitions in the favour of my Lord of Somerset, and especially not any of the House of Howard, against whom he had always professed hatred and opposition." In order to make his point against Somerset, Bacon insists that Overbury "not being of force to expel the resolution of marriage, he from friendly admonition fell to the threatening of this prisoner, which he neither would nor could but through the notice of such secrets as passed between them, whereby he grew bold to use this rough manner of withstanding;" but this is little more than the mere theory of the prosecution; and since Lady Essex was undoubtedly the prime agent in bringing about the death of Overbury, the probabilities are that the original threat of Overbury was against her, and that it implied the possibility of preventing the divorce. What information on this point Somerset may have given to James is not known, but James now proposed to Overbury to undertake a foreign embassy. In vain Overbury pleaded the state of his health, and having at last peremptorily refused to quit England, he was, on the ground of disloyal contumacy, sent to the Tower. All the while Somerset was, however, carrying on with him a friendly correspondence with a view to bring him to what Somerset deemed a more reasonable frame of mind; but unhappily Somerset had told Lady Essex of Overbury's objections and threats, and, determined to silence him at all hazards, she succeeded, by much ingenuity, in procuring his death in the Tower by slow poison. Since Overbury was in indifferent health when he entered the Tower, neither he himself nor the outside public had sufficient reasons for suspecting foul play. "The manner of his death," wrote Chamberlain in recording it, "is not known for that there was nobody with him, not so much as his keeper; but the fulness of the corpse gave suspicion, and leaves aspersion that he should die of the — or somewhat worse." For some years nothing further was mooted as to the cause of death; for the handiwork of Lady Essex was not easily traceable. Whether or not Carr was act and part with his future wife in doing away with his too obstreperous friend, the probability is that soon after the marriage he

knew enough to suspect his wife's connection with it; but, leaving them meanwhile in company with this tragic secret, we must now turn to the consideration of the main current of events.

The year 1612, which removed the prominent figure of Salisbury from English politics, was not to close without a death which was perhaps politically, as it was socially, of much higher consequence : on November 6th, died, after a short illness, the heir to the crown, Prince Henry. He had arrived at an age when it was possible to form some estimate of his main characteristics; and it is evident not merely that he was frank, handsome, and vigorous, and therefore popular with the crowd, but that his abilities and the gravely considerate view he took of his responsibilities had won him the respect of those whose opinion is best worth considering. The nature of his illness puzzled the physicians, the record of whose methods of treating it leave the impression that he would have had a better chance of recovery without their aid. As usually happened at that time in cases where the cause of death was not thoroughly understood, rumours were current of poisoning, and it was even suggested, at a later period, that the King had conspired with Somerset to get rid of him. But all speculation of this kind has been disposed of by Dr. Norman Moore, who, in a pamphlet on the causes of his death, clearly shows from the recorded symptoms of his illness that the case was one of typhoid fever. It is idle to speculate as to what the future of English history would have been had he survived. Both intellectually and physically he was evidently of a more vigorous build than his brother Charles, and we may conjecture that had he, instead of Charles, been King, he might somehow have escaped his fate; but there is no reason to suppose that he possessed views in regard to the royal prerogative less strict than those of his father, or that his attitude towards the Commons would have been more subservient.

During this same year preparations had been in progress for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine, who, in October, had arrived in England for this purpose. The gloom caused by the death

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

From the Crayon Drawing by Isaac Oliver in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch
at Montagu House.



of Prince Henry was all the more felt in view of the anticipated happy occasion of the marriage; but, whether from a peculiar nervous susceptibility to gloomy impressions or some particular moral theory of his own, James was peculiarly hostile to outward manifestations of grief. Not only therefore, did the betrothal take place as early as November 27th; but he afterwards commanded that "no man should appear in the court in mourning; he would have nothing in his eye to bring so sad a message to his heart; the jollity, feasting and magnificence of Christmas must not be laid aside." The Elector and other foreign princes thus remained in England, and were entertained as usual until the celebration of the marriage on February 14th, 1603-4.

The marriage expenses—amounting in all, with the bride's portion of £40,000 to £60,000—were a very serious addition to the King's indebtedness, for the "aid" levied to meet the expenses brought only £22,000. For the maintenance of extra forces in Ireland in connection with the Ulster settlement, James instigated the order of baronets, each recipient of the honour agreeing to pay £1,080 in three annual sums sufficient "to keep thirty foot soldiers in Ireland for three years." From this, however, James reaped no personal benefit: the baronets were to be taxed for their honour only so far as this particular necessity required it. In accordance with Lord Bacon's suggestion that the King should make full enquiry into the possibilities of the various actual sources of his revenue, it was resolved before further bringing the question of supply before Parliament, to appoint a commission for "Repair of the King's estates and the raising of moneys"—their enquiry having reference mainly to the management of the crown property. As a result, they reported an increase in the ordinary revenue amounting to £35,776 annually; and in addition there was available from various sources £309,681. But, to set against this, the ordinary income had now come to exceed the ordinary expenditure by £160,000, thus still leaving an annual deficit of about £125,000; and there was now also a debt of £500,000, which, as they said, "would increase by the quarterly inequality of the ordinary, besides the extraordinary,"

thus leading "to plain ruin if it were not prevented," for most of the sources from which £309,681 had been obtained would not again be available.

On being informed of the deplorable condition of his finances, James resolved to put some check on his personal expenditure, especially as regards pensions and benefactions; but the lavish habits of his household, and the general wastefulness pervading all the departments of his management were very difficult to cure, for most of the high officials were concerned in it as well as himself. Nor were his own easy-going and extravagant habits mitigated by any opposite qualities on the part of the Queen; on her passionate love of gaieties he probably deemed it vain to attempt to put any restraint. Her devotion to the delightful amusement of masques is however not surprising; and much various skill was employed in their production, Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones being among the artists to whom recourse was had. The King also quite shared her partiality for the amusement—recreation seems to have been a constant necessity for him. The court we are told by Wilson was a "continual maskarado, where her ladies, like so many sea-nymphs or Nereids, appeared often in various dresses, to the ravishment of the beholders, the King himself being not a little delighted with such fluent elegancies as made the night more glorious than the day."

By various contrivances, some temporary additions were made to the King's income, but with expenses hardly, if at all, diminishing, they scarcely bettered the situation; and he was at last induced to try the experiment of affording the Commons an opportunity of coming to his rescue—a rather humiliating position for him, since it might have been avoided but for his own lack of ordinary forethought. Had the financial supplies required been solely for the extraordinary expenditure, that is for public necessities, and not for the King's private wants, the Commons by refusing them would have put themselves still more in the wrong than they were, and the King's tactical position would have been much stronger than it was. It was evident that the King wished, in the main, to follow Bacon's

LUCY HARRINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD,

In one of Ben Jonson's masques.

From the Painting by Marc Gheeraedts in the Collection of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey.



Lady Countess of Bedford
wife to Edward Lord Bedford
daughter to John D'Almeida

advice—to summon the Parliament ostensibly rather for legislation than supplies; but unhappily the financial position was known to be so bad that the Commons got possessed of the idea that he was very much at their mercy. In anticipation of the meeting of Parliament a list of Bills—largely suggested by the Petition of Grievances—was drawn up, which it was deemed desirable to get passed. As Spedding remarks, “it is impossible to look through the list without feeling that however the want of money may have been the immediate occasion of calling the Parliament, it was not the less called for the dispatch of diverse weighty affairs, affecting the great interests of the Kingdom; and that if the Parliament could have met the government in a corresponding spirit the result might have been a session memorable to after time for the number of good laws enacted in it.” James had, undoubtedly, a very sincere interest in the welfare of his subjects, and though immovably hostile to any movement that threatened his prerogatives, and especially to any ecclesiastical competition with him for supremacy, wished to grant as much social liberty to them as possible, and to do all that he could to promote the advancement of the nation in intelligence and prosperity; so far as he acted tyrannously it was in opposition to those who would have become greater social and religious tyrants than himself. But it soon became evident that the Parliament had no interest in any legislation except that which would mean the reducing of the King to more entire dependence on their goodwill, and thus, as they hoped, to the restoration of the nonconformists. They therefore occupied their time mainly in general manifestations of discontent. Some efforts had been made by certain persons afterwards known as “undertakers,” to influence the elections in the government’s favour; but the attempts made by the Commons to magnify the isolated instances of this kind of interference into an organised conspiracy against the liberties of Parliament, can be accounted for only by the excited character of party feeling. Though we have no definite information, we must infer, from the conduct of the majority of the members, that the Puritans had used every effort to secure the return of members pledged to do

the utmost on their behalf; and that an issue in any degree satisfactory to the King was from the beginning hopeless. The Parliament — which met on April 5th — had the disadvantage that about two thirds were new members, and that Winwood, who in view of its meeting had been appointed secretary, had, though his sympathies were rather with the popular party, little parliamentary experience; but it was neither his lack of tact, nor the inexperience of the majority of the members that finally rendered it a *parliamentum inchoatum*. The reason of the deadlock is stated with great conciseness by Gardiner: it became evident that the House (rather the majority of the House) “would not be satisfied with the instalment of redress which had been offered by the King, and that James would hardly obtain supplies from the Parliament unless he were ready to face the question at issue” — only “face” must be understood in the sense of “surrender on.” This being the mood of the Commons, they began to concentrate their main attention on vain attempts to discover the evil deeds of the supposed “undertakers;” and supplemented this by resolving, in opposition to the opinion of the judges, that all impositions were illegal, instead of accepting the very reasonable offer of the King not to lay more than those already in force, the oppressiveness of which the Commons made no attempt to show. Having come to their hostile decision in regard to impositions, the Commons asked to have a conference with the Lords, in order to agree on a joint petition for their discontinuance. This however was declined by the Lords, whereupon the Commons, fastening on an intemperate speech of the Bishop of Lincoln, resolved to take up no other business until they received from the Lords satisfaction for his conduct; and not obtaining this, they were engaged in considering what steps they should take against him when, on June 3rd, they received a message from the King that unless they proceeded forthwith to treat of supply he would dissolve Parliament on the 9th. The warning produced some effect, and even some degree of consternation, but in the end failed to check the general disorderliness; and a motion to “present him with some portion of supply” met with but indifferent support. After the

House resolved to go into committee to prepare an answer to the King's message, it assumed very much the character of a bear garden. "The wiser sort," wrote Chamberlain, "propounded means to justify and some means to satisfy the King, but there were so many difficulties in the matter, and the time so short, that nothing could be done, and withal they were so malcontent that their conference about impositions was refused : the bishop protested against them, and now to be so peremptorily pressed, that being somewhat out of frame before, this did quite distemper them, and made them quite careless how the world went. The truth is, it should seem by their carriage, and by that I have heard from some of them, that there was never known a more disorderly House, and that it was many times more like a cockpit than a grave council. And many sat there that were more fit to have been among roaring boys than in that assembly." In the midst of their hopeless squabbling, the usher of the Upper House appeared on June 7th, requiring their presence in the House of Lords, where the King's commission was read dissolving the Parliament. It was dissolved, wrote a gossip of the day, "without the ratification of so much as one act, no not of the Palgrave's succession, thereto rendering it as they term it here, an *addle parliament*."

Even if we agree with Gardiner that the Commons were "undoubtedly right in refusing to grant supplies until the questions of the impositions and of the grievances were settled in their favour," it can hardly be affirmed that the character of the proceedings indicated supreme qualifications for their apparent claim to a new position in the government of the country. The case of each party is however summarised with more impartiality by Spedding.—"But it may be truly said," he writes, "that whoever considers the nature and issues of those constitutional disputes, will excuse a good deal of warmth and vivacity on both sides. So uncertain as the consequences were of making the crown absolutely dependent upon the vote of the Lower House for the means of carrying on the government, the King might well be excused for hesitating to throw away a source

of revenue which the authorised interpreters of the law had hitherto declared to belong by law to him. So indefinite as the power was which the undisputed command of that source of revenue would have put into the King's hands, the Commons might well be excused for fighting hard to establish a check upon it." Spedding thus clearly indicates what Gardiner ignores, that the Commons were endeavouring to impose a new restraint upon the King, though he also omits to mention that the King was willing not to go further in the way of impositions, provided of course he obtained other sources of supply. The only duty of the Commons in connection with them was, be it remembered, to consider whether they were unduly oppressive or not. It was vain to expect that the King having a legal decision in his favour, would begin by yielding to the clamour of the Commons before they showed any signs of supplying him with other sources of revenue; and whether his ecclesiastical policy was right or wrong, or whether or not, in connection with it, he was unduly stretching his prerogative, he would have been less worthy to wear the crown than his worst detractors declare him to have been, had he allowed himself to be influenced in what he deemed his duty by the mere question of a rise of salary. The weak point in his conduct—right or wrong as may have been his policy—was his inability sufficiently to limit his personal expenditure. But for this, the Commons would have had much smaller encouragement in their endeavour to obtain a fuller grasp of constitutional authority. Their endeavour, laudable or not in its aim, assumed however, necessarily or not, a form so directly hostile to certain of the King's undoubted prerogatives, that meanwhile it was bound to be abortive; and if they inconvenienced the King, they inconvenienced still more the nation, which the Commons professed to represent, while, as Spedding remarks, "the issue was not satisfactory to any except the enemies of Parliament." Nor did the King—though he may have been acting within his sovereign rights as then understood—at all mend matters by sending some of the more abusive members to the Tower; for at this stage of England's history, matters could not be mended by any legal expedients, the malady

being one that affected primarily the moral and social ideas of the people rather than the mere forms of government, though its effects were bound to cause confusion there.

Immediately after the dissolution of Parliament, James entered into rather pressing negotiations with Sarmiento—afterwards Count Gondomar, by which better known title it will be more convenient to designate him—the Spanish ambassador in regard to the Spanish marriage; but, as Spedding remarks, Gardiner was hardly justified in concluding, from the vaunting communications of Gondomar to his master, that James would not have dissolved the Parliament unless assured of the friendship of Spain. The dissolution of the Parliament was imperative for the simple reason that it was bent on coercing the King; and on the other hand the Spanish match commended itself to James apart altogether from the conduct of the Parliament. Negotiations for it had already been begun: it was part and parcel of the same political and ecclesiastical policy that had led to the unsatisfactory relations with the Commons. Nor is there any adequate ground for the common theory—which naturally was the general theory in England at the time and manifests itself everywhere in contemporary records—that James was the dupe and tool of Gondomar: for if Gondomar had ends to serve in regard to which he hoped to outwit James, James also had purposes in view which Gondomar did not quite comprehend. Of James, Ranke very justly writes:—“All the world complained that they could not depend on him; each party thought he was blinded by the other. Those, however, who knew him more intimately assured us that we must not suppose that he did not apprehend the snares which were laid for him, that if only he were willing to use his eyes, he was as clear sighted as Argus; that there was no prince in the world who had more insight into affairs or more cleverness in transacting them.” And if the past career of James, from his early childhood, be considered, we must allow that he had a curious faculty of taking care of himself, and of keeping steadily in view—amidst all the variations of his attitudes towards different parties—his own particular ends. This he had to study

all his life, and he could not study it without constant watchfulness of the aims of other. Moreover, James had for long been possessed of a great or grandiose political or ecclesiastical ambition ; and the Spanish match was desirable mainly as contributing to its realization. He was not led to entangle himself in the negotiations for the match primarily by the blandishments of Gondomar, no more than he was moved by the representations of Somerset and the Howards. Rather must we conclude that in bestowing his special favour on the Howards, he wished to impress Spain with his tolerant leanings towards Catholicism. Apart from the religious difficulty, the marriage might well seem desirable : it was the most brilliant that the Scottish prince could make ; and a family alliance with Spain might also prove of high tactical advantage in enabling James, or his successors, to maintain an unimpaired sovereignty. But besides such personal, or merely wordly, or political considerations, or rather very closely intermingled with them, there was the paramount question of religion, which then played a part in politics, the intimate character of which, our emancipated age unfits us from fully realizing. The question of religion, or rather of ecclesiastical polity, was then the burning question of Europe. It was as vital to James as it was to Gondomar or Philip ; and while Gondomar hoped by the match to restore Catholicism in England, James designed to make it the stepping-stone not merely to the peace, but to the reunion, of Christendom. In his remarkable letter of remonstrance to Somerset, he makes mention, with ingenuous vanity, of "the state of religion, through all Christendom which almost wholly, under God, rests now upon my shoulders." It would perhaps be incorrect to affirm that his paramount interest was rather in theology than in sovereignty, rather in ecclesiastical than in political and secular affairs ; but his conceptions of sovereignty had a strong ecclesiastical tinge : like the Jewish Kings of old, he deemed himself in a very special sense "the Lord's anointed"—even more "the Lord's anointed," not merely than bishops, archbishops and cardinals, but than the Pope himself, whose position he indeed regarded as nothing less than that of the "Man of Sin," and this because it implied the usur-

COUNT GONDOMAR.

From the Painting in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court Palace.



pation of a spiritual authority belonging to individual sovereigns. What he strove and hoped to effect was to open the eyes of the sovereigns of Europe to that which he deemed their divine right of ecclesiastical supremacy within their own dominions ; and by mediating between Protestantism and Catholicism, to effect the reunion of Christendom on the basis of relegating the Pope to the mere presidency of the council. It was thus not from lack of settled political purpose, nor from regard to mere temporary considerations that, on the one hand, he married the Princess Elizabeth to the most powerful of German Protestant princes, and that, on the other, he was eager to wed Prince Charles to the Infanta of Spain. On the contrary, both arrangements were essential steps towards his grand aim. And however Utopian, however fantastically impracticable his aim may now seem to us, and however much he may have misapprehended the actual character of the political and ecclesiastical conditions of Europe, the scheme was not without a certain speciosity. Ecclesiastical and religious ideas that have now become fixed were then partly in a condition of solution ; the crystallizing process was not yet completed ; the gulf that had opened up between Protestants and Catholics was doubtless great, but it had not assumed the absolute appearance of permanence that the centuries have now conferred on it ; even the phenomenon of the Counter-Reformation movement, and its only partial success, went to indicate that some kind of reconciliation between Protestantism and Catholicism might not be impracticable. James, like Henry VIII., objected mainly to the Popery of Catholicism ; or at least he believed that once this stumbling block were out of the way, other desirable reforms, even throughout the whole of Christendom, need not be considered hopeless. Judging also sovereign human nature by his own, it is not surprising that he hardly counted it a forlorn hope to endeavour to persuade other sovereigns that, like him, they ought to resolve to be sovereigns ecclesiastically as well as politically : clearly, if he could effect an understanding on this point with the great Catholic sovereign of Spain, much might be possible ; and with the opportunity of intimate and friendly intercourse with the bride's father

that would follow the Spanish marriage, he would be able to insinuate his opinions on these points with much more chance of success than hitherto. An important reason for his desire to heal the breach of Christendom was also the need of a bulwark against the growth of Puritanism in England : could he be assured even of the full loyalty of the Catholics in England, one of the chief causes of anxiety in regard to his own sovereignty would be removed. But he felt, in addition, that Protestantism in its more severe and extreme forms was hostile to the old form of personal sovereignty — that it threatened the sovereign's prerogatives much more than the Papacy did. If sovereignty was to be maintained in Protestant countries, it was essential to retain not merely the ancient Episcopal polity but much of the ancient elaborate ceremonials—ceremonials both in church and state being in his opinion necessary to the creation of proper ecclesiastical and civil reverence. By means of an understanding among European sovereigns, he hoped that a universal reformed Catholic Church of the character he desired was not beyond attainment, or if this was not immediately possible, at least a preparatory *entente cordiale* might be accomplished. Necessarily his hopes fluctuated : the political barometer was sometimes in a very unsettled condition ; temporary necessities compelled him occasionally not merely to suspend his efforts towards the accomplishment of his aims, but to seem to act contrary to his real purpose : if his policy towards Spain seems often vacillating and sometimes double-faced and even directly hostile, this may be partly accounted for, not only by the dubious attitude of Spain, but by the complexity both of his own and the European situation.

At the close of Convocation in June 1614, the bishops and certain lords, grieved at the refractory conduct of the Commons, agreed to offer the King a gift of their best piece of plate, or rather its equivalent ; and this suggested to the Council to inform the magistrates of counties and burghs of what was being done, that all throughout the country, able and desirous to contribute to the "benevolence" might have the opportunity of doing so. The contribution of the bishops and lords amounted

to £20,000, but the general appeal was a practical failure; and even after it was intimated that affairs in Cleves and Juliers might call for the King's interference on behalf of Protestantism the whole sum raised only amounted to a little over £60,000. His crippled financial condition rendered it more and more incumbent on James to seek the promotion of peace; and thus even had he cherished no ultimate intention of agreeing to the Spanish match unless on conditions which it seemed almost impossible to obtain, it would have been highly inexpedient, even under strong provocation, to have at this juncture discontinued the negotiations. At first also their success on satisfactory terms seemed more than probable. Gondomar was of opinion that the betrothal of Prince Charles to the Infanta Maria would—if only, as was of course understood, the Infanta were permitted the free exercise of her religion—be of immense service to the Catholic cause. He therefore recommended that Philip should agree to the conditions of James, who, although unable to promise that the Parliament would be induced to repeal the recusancy laws, agreed to liberate the priests and remit the fines, so that Catholicism would practically have almost toleration. In agreeing to this James was simply going back to his old policy: for should an alliance be effected between him and Philip there would be nothing to dread from Catholic disloyalty. Pope Paul V.—who apparently understood perfectly the views and aims of the English sovereign—expressed himself against the proposed marriage, not merely because it would probably impair the faith of the Infanta, but because it might even have an unsettling influence on the Catholicism of Spain; but a junta of theologians to whom Philip, without informing them of the Pope's opinion, submitted the question, gave a favourable answer even on the conditions mentioned by James, and this on the ground that the Catholics, according to the proposed arrangement, would possess a religious liberty not granted to the Puritans. Digby was therefore sent to Madrid to complete, if possible, the marriage treaty. The main difficulty was a stipulation of Spain that all children born of the marriage should be educated under their mother's care, and that if, on coming of age, they embraced Catholicism,

they should not be debarred from the succession ; but though at first staggered by this condition, which seemed to inflict a slight both on his sovereignty and his religion, James naturally felt it hard to relinquish all hopes of the worldly advantages of the alliance and of the fulfilment of his day-dream. He therefore pocketed his resentment ; but while intimating that the conditions might form a basis for further negotiations, he proposed to grant a commission to Somerset—now promoted to be Lord Chamberlain *vice* Suffolk, who had been appointed treasurer—to treat further, on the understanding that the King of Spain should grant a similar commission to Gondomar. This was, on the part of James, a politic, and indeed almost necessary, step, if the negotiations were to be continued. For one thing, Digby was then too averse to the match to be entrusted with the management of the delicate details of a compromise. Then in England everything would really be under the immediate supervision of James himself ; and through the representations of Gondomar—who was always extremely, it may be excessively, confident of the latent strength of the Catholic cause in England, and had always favoured the marriage without any very binding conditions—a satisfactory arrangement was more likely to be arrived at.

The negotiations were, however, interrupted by the astounding scandal caused by the discovery of Overbury's murder, which involved the reputation of Somerset, the English commissioner, and even indirectly that of James himself. Of all the many untoward chances by which the King's patience and fortitude had been so often tried, there were few, if any, more disconcerting than this. True the fortunes of Somerset were seemingly already on the wane, and the partiality of James for him was not now what it had been : but this would hardly lessen to James the shock of the terrible intelligence. That his chief political confidant should have become involved in a conspiracy so villanous, if even involved in it only indirectly through his wife, was a serious reflection on the King's own wisdom. Whether or not Somerset was essentially innocent, the unfortunate occurrence could hardly have happened but for a certain lack of scruple,

as well as discretion, on the King's part. While the pretensions of James, even as "Defender of the Faith," were so high, and while his political aims were in some respects more enlightened than those of most of his contemporaries, his instinct for what was fitting in minor matters was so unreliable, and the expedients to which he felt the need of having recourse were often so questionable, that he was bound occasionally to injure seriously his repute both for honesty and wisdom. Though unaware of the peculiar moral perversities of the young and fair Lady Essex, his meddlesomeness in regard to the divorce was a grave indiscretion; and it was a still graver one, if not to commit Overbury to the Tower—which he may have done in all simplicity—to retain him there, as he apparently must have done, to prevent him interposing so as to endanger the divorce.

For some time before the discovery of the murder, Somerset had shown a moody and uncertain temper; and his outbreaks apparently of jealousy at the favours bestowed on a new, but as yet minor, favourite, George Villiers, evoked the strong remonstrance of the King, who regretted that his "great parts and merit" should be accompanied so often by "a sour and distasteful savour." True, Somerset knew that Villiers was being utilized by his enemies in order to oust him from the King's favour: but it is unlikely that this would have seriously disturbed him had he not been conscious that he was virtually sitting on a mine, that at any moment might be exploded. Indeed, the sequel seems to show that his querulousness was in great part artificial, that knowing as, now at least, he must have done, the terrible crime of which his wife had been guilty, and realizing that her guilt, whether he shared it or not, was almost bound to involve his ruin, he was magnifying to the King the malice of his enemies in order to obtain a guarantee against the worst, by means of a comprehensive pardon under the Great Seal. This was, however, delayed by the scruples of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and before James had finally decided that it must be passed, he was in September 1615 informed by Sir Ralph Winwood that notice had been brought to him that Overbury's

death in the Tower had been caused by poison. It was of course impossible for James to know whether Somerset equally with his wife was involved in the crime; but he could put no faith in the mere protests of Somerset that he was innocent; and being anxious to prevent further scandal, he virtually gave him and the Countess to understand that if they pled guilty their lives would be spared. Some have accounted for the King's manifest anxiety to wring a confession from Somerset, by the theory that Somerset was in possession of some dire secret—the poisoning of Prince Henry was the favourite supposition—which if revealed would for ever have blasted the King's reputation; but the mere fact that the King had authorised the imprisonment of Overbury in the Tower was sufficient to have made him very sensitive in regard to insinuations as to his own concern with the murder.

The Countess of Somerset being *enceinte*, the trial of her and her husband had meanwhile to be postponed; but the trials of the subordinate agents were immediately proceeded with, and being found guilty, they were as a matter of course executed. The Countess, who was brought to trial on May 24th, 1616, confessed her guilt; but Somerset—who from the time of his accusation had shown “a constancy and carelessness” which, writes a gossip, “if it be of innocency, I should admire him as a man that hath his mind of an admirable building”—even after his conviction “stood still upon his innocence, and could hardly be brought to refer him to the King's mercy.” On account of the strong prejudices of the peers, the verdict would probably have gone against him, even had the speech of Bacon for the prosecution been less uncompromising and masterly than it was. That its tone was in a *bona fide* sense fully justified by the evidence is maintained by Spedding, although of course it was a merely official performance, and Bacon's personal honesty is not directly in question. Knowing that the King intended to grant a pardon, Bacon deemed it his official duty to do all that he could to secure a conviction; but privately he admitted that he was not fully convinced of the cogency of the evidence, although at the same time he was not convinced

of Somerset's innocence. He recognised that the evidence of guilt rested "chiefly on presumptions"—presumptions which Gardiner has shown it is not impossible to explain so as to exonerate Somerset. In our day such evidence as was adduced against him would hardly be sufficient to cause the retirement of the jury to consider the verdict. Nor widespread as had been the dissatisfaction at the King's partiality for him, was there among the nobility and courtiers a thorough-going conviction of his guilt. "Many," writes Weldon, "believed him guilty of Overbury's death, but the most part thought him guilty only of the breach of friendship (and that in a high point), by suffering his imprisonment which was the high way to his murder; and this conjecture I take to be the soundest opinion." If he was concerned in the murder, it is beyond doubt that his part was subordinate to that of her who had now become his wife, and to Northampton, who must have been found guilty had he survived. The chances are also that the lady hid the cruel and revengeful side of her nature from her lover, who, there is no evidence to show, notwithstanding Bacon's diatribes, had any personal reason to dread Overbury's ill-will. There is further a certain corroboration of Somerset's innocence in the fact that his wife's confession would almost have necessitated his own, had he been guilty; for otherwise he left her to bear the whole brunt of the crime, and represented himself as one whose love and confidence had been vilely abused. Apparently also the publication of the crime severed their partnership, for it is said that though on obtaining their liberty they occupied the same house, they henceforth lived altogether separate lives. In suspending the sentence of death against Somerset, the King may have been influenced by the secret conviction of his innocence; but, as in the case of Raleigh, he deemed it advisable to keep Somerset under the terror of it; and though he was permitted to leave the Tower in January 1622, pardon was not granted him until a few months before the King's death.

The scandal must, in any case, have been a terrible shock to the King's self-complacency; and, especially for the time being, if not permanently,

it was a sad blow to his prestige. His fault, it is true, seemed to be mainly that of imprudence; even Somerset's disgrace, let alone other punishment, was hardly deserved, if, as is most likely, he knew nothing of the wicked purpose of the unspeakable woman he had been fool enough to make his wife. The common custom of historians to adduce the murder as a grave reflection on the rule of James and the character of his court is hardly justifiable; but current opinion does not depend for even its strongest judgments on very nice or deep discrimination; and at this juncture the reputation of James was at a somewhat low ebb. More especially was the occurrence a terrible blow to his, in some respects, clever, if in other respects, grandiloquent, foreign policy. It was, in any view, incongruous that the minister whom he had chosen to conduct negotiations for a religious purpose so sublime as the reunion of Christendom, should have been convicted of so foul a murder, or have been, even indirectly, the occasion of it.

Necessarily the opponents of the Spanish marriage — who represented the traditional policy of England, confirmed as in later years it had been by memories of the Armada, and who included nearly all the ablest and most disinterested councillors of the King — were disposed to make the most of their accidental good fortune; but though there was a general opinion that he should now call a Parliament, and even Bacon advised that he should practically abandon the Spanish negotiations, and merely hold them *in terrorem*, over the Parliament, so as to induce the Commons to grant him supplies, he silently resolved to proceed with his project. The truth was that his councillors were unaware of all that it meant for him, or of the real purpose of his foreign policy; but, apart from his ultimate ends, it was as advisable temporarily to keep on good terms with Spain as — now that France and Spain had joined interests by means of the double marriage scheme — to seek to gain the goodwill of Parliament at the heavy risk of throwing himself into the Protestant struggle. Yet, though he had not the smallest intention to drop the negotiations, he found it necessary to make a pretence of bending to the storm; and he

was thus at last persuaded to give his sanction to a proposal of Raleigh—in which Raleigh had some years previously induced Prince Henry to take an interest—for an expedition to Guiana in search of gold. If Raleigh was to be credited, such was the richness of a gold mine on the Orinoco, that it would not merely supply James with treasure sufficient to make the question of a Spanish marriage portion of no further importance to him, but would enable him and his successors to be independent of the Commons probably for all coming time. The main difficulty was in crediting the likelihood of such good fortune; but since Raleigh undertook to find the money for the expedition, and secure access to the mine without encroaching on Spanish territory, James was more than willing to permit a venture fraught with such splendid possibilities. On September 19th, 1616, Raleigh therefore received a warrant permitting him his liberty in order to make preparations for his voyage. It was more than vain in Gondomar to seek to persuade James against the expedition: his very anxiety that it should be relinquished only confirmed James in the conviction that Raleigh had good grounds for his statement. All therefore that James was prepared to do, was to assure Gondomar that no hostility against Spain was intended; and, to put an end to his protests or his fears, he gave him his word that, should Raleigh dare to disobey his strict injunctions not to attack Spanish ships or possessions, he would send both him and his plunder to Spain. But, of course, the strong anti-Spanish party would be only too delighted if the Guiana expedition should cause a rupture with Spain; and a proposal was even made to James that Raleigh might, by capturing the city of Genoa, both do great service to the Duke of Savoy, who was threatened by Spain, and secure a very large treasure. Not indisposed to show Gondomar that he could, if he so desired, make himself disagreeable to Spain, and probably desirous meanwhile to humour the anti-Spanish party, James pretended for some time to coquet with the idea; but he finally decided for the original enterprise, which was by far the preferable if any faith was to be put in Raleigh's professions. From the strength of the expedition—14 ships in all with 900 men—it has

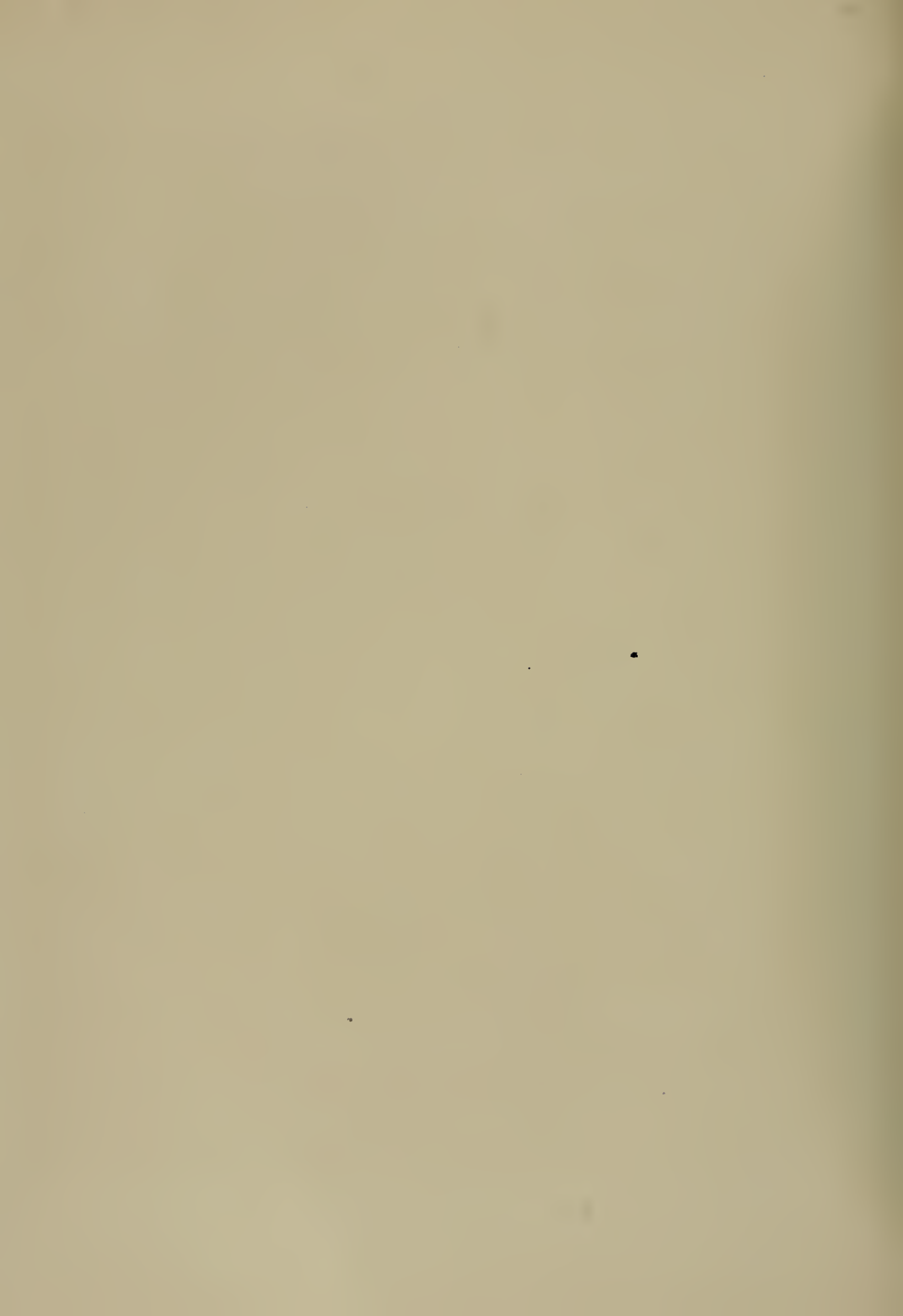
been argued that James must have recognised the possibility of some kind of attack upon the Spaniards; but surely only a moment's consideration is needed to discern the futility of such a contention; for Raleigh might have to defend himself and his treasures from Spanish attack. All that James stipulated for was that he should not act on the offensive, nor meddle with territory in the possession of Spain. After various delays and misadventures on account of storms, Raleigh finally set sail from Cork harbour August 17th, 1618; and, leaving him meanwhile to prosecute his romantic quest, we return to the consideration of the humdrum matters of domestic politics.

After the fall of Somerset the most notable event of 1616 was the removal of Coke from the Court of King's Bench. Coke's views in regard to the sacredness and comprehensiveness of the Common Law and the jurisdiction of the Common Law Courts, were at least as extreme as those of the King in regard to his royal prerogative; and his sheer love of predominance, and his pride in his exceptional mastery of his own subject, made it more and more difficult for the King to avoid a serious collision with him. The first matter that brought Coke into special disfavour was his conduct in regard to the prosecution of Edmond Peacham, who having been apprehended for libelling his bishop, was found to be in possession of a half-prepared treatise, which was deemed to be of a treasonable character; but before proceeding to prosecute, the Council resolved to consult the judges. In order to obtain an opinion unprejudiced by the predominance of Coke, Bacon recommended that the judges should be consulted individually, whereupon Coke objected to "taking an opinion *single and apart*," as "new and dangerous;" and he further affirmed that the treatise contained nothing that amounted to treason. Peacham was however not only tried but convicted; and, as matter of fact, Coke was also in error in objecting to the separate consultation of the judges. But this only made him more keen on behalf of the supremacy of the Common Law even in regard to matters that touched the King. After an unsuccessful, as well as unjustifiable, attempt to interfere by

SIR EDWARD COKE.

From the Painting by Cornelius Janssen Van Ceulen in the National Portrait Gallery, London.





premunire to prevent a decision of the Court of Chancery in an appeal from the Common Law Courts, he finally permitted himself to blunder into a direct conflict with the King in a case of *commendams*. The question having been raised in the Exchequer Court before twelve judges, as to the right of the crown to grant *commendams*, the King, since this touched on his prerogative, requested that the judges should first consult with him; but on Coke's advice, the King's request was disregarded. This was a rash step to take unless the judges were absolutely certain that they had in law no other option; but in fact the law was dead against them, and even the excuse that speedy decision was necessary will not stand examination even as a subterfuge. On being summoned before the Council, all the judges but Coke admitted their error and promised that in future they would first consult with the King in a case that concerned him "either in power or profit;" but Coke was prepared only to promise that "when the case should be, he would do that which should be fit for a judge to do." The position of Gardiner in regard to this declaration of Coke is peculiar. It being indisputable, as Bacon argued, that the judges were bound to give counsel to the King should he require it, Gardiner—while admitting that Coke, master of the Law though he was, "could not refute the arguments which were brought against him"—takes for granted that the King's aim was not to obtain counsel from the judges, but to make them accept his counsel. But this at least was not his professed aim. "If there fall out," so he said in his speech in the Star Chamber, "what concerns my prerogative or mystery of state, deal not with it till you consult with the King or his Council, or both, for they are transcendent matters and must not be slibberly carried with over rash wilfulness, for so you may wound the King through the side of a private person." It has also been pleaded for Coke that he showed great courage "in resisting what he thought then and afterwards to be a threatening danger, the frequent exercise within strictly legal limits of the King's power." But the question is less one of courage than of right. To represent to the King, even in the strongest terms, the inadvisability

of his conduct, might have been justifiable; but in declining to consult, or returning a dubious answer as to his obligations to do so, Coke was guilty of mere contumacy. As Spedding remarks, "the course taken by the judges and Coke was one of those encroachments upon the prerogative by which it has been gradually limited and reduced within narrower bounds. The change might promise to be beneficial, but it was a change. As the law then stood, the precedents were against them and therefore they were in the wrong. Eleven of them (who had probably formed no opinion of their own upon the question, but merely followed his) now saw that they had been in the wrong, and very properly submitted. Coke also felt that he had been wrong, but not being able to bring himself to own it—a thing he never found easy—he took refuge in that magniloquent evasion; the whole proceeding from first to last being very characteristic of him, and in my opinion not at all sublime." Indeed even Gardiner admits that James was acting "in accordance with the theory of the constitution which had been handed down to him;" but he nevertheless immediately proceeds to take James to task practically for not having been born in the nineteenth century, or, in his own words, for not "acting in harmony with Parliament as the guide and representative of public opinion," which of course raises much wider issues than those raised by Coke, issues wholly irrelevant as regards Coke's case, and involving the whole question of the contest of James with Puritanism.

For his irregular attempts to interfere with the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, as well as for his attitude towards the consultation of the judges with the King, Coke on June 26th was called before the Council, and his explanation of his conduct being unsatisfactory, the King suspended him meanwhile from the exercise of his office. In order also to test his attitude towards the King, or to give him a chance to withdraw from his impossible position, he was asked meanwhile to occupy his leisure in revising and correcting his reports, in which the King was "informed there were many exorbitant and extravagant opinions set down

MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

From the Painting, probably by Marc Gheeraedts, in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

She is the subject of the celebrated epitaph by William Browne:—

Underneath this sable hearse
Lies the subject of all verse,
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother,
Death! ere thou hast slain another,
Fair and learn'd and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee.



for positive and good law." As was to be expected, Coke succeeded in discovering in his reports only a few minor errors; and when five objectionable points were selected that he might give an explanation of them, he affirmed that "the statement of his law did not affect the prerogative;" and merely promised "to modify his language so as to make his meaning clear." Coke was, in fact, equally convinced with the King that he could do no wrong. On November 15th he was therefore removed from his office; but the King, with his usual philosophic fairness, thoroughly respecting his courage and honest intention, informed him that he would employ him on something else, since he esteemed him a good servant "save as regards the matters wherein he had offended." According to Chamberlain, the common speech was that "four P. P.'s have overthrown and put him down, that is Pride, Prohibitions, Praemunire, and Prerogative." Gardiner having no option but to admit that on the question of the jurisdiction of Chancery, Coke was in the wrong, asserts that "it is his conduct in the case of *commendams* that has secured him the approbation of posterity;" but, as we have seen, he virtually admits that Coke here also was in the wrong; and thus the approval of posterity is founded on misapprehension and on the importation into the question of notions derived from modern experience.

After the question of Raleigh's expedition had been settled, James turned his thoughts to an enterprise of his own in some respects as full of peril and uncertainty as that of Raleigh, although it assumed the form merely of a state visit to Scotland: for the main aim of his visit was to add the final touch to his attempt to subdue the recalcitrant Presbyterians, and to assimilate the Scottish Kirk to the English Church by the introduction of all the liturgical appurtenances of High Churchism. In this he was not actuated, as he is often represented to have been, by mere whim; nor was a mere desire for uniformity—though this was necessarily deemed by him a thing in itself highly expedient—his main motive; but, as we have already seen, he laid great stress on ceremonial as assisting to develop reverence, and more than this, his endeavour to remodel the polity

and observances of the Scottish Kirk formed an essential part of his great scheme for the reunion of Christendom.

There was no contradiction between this aim and the strenuous measures enforced against Catholicism in Scotland, for the Scottish Catholics were as uncompromising and extreme, as were even the more bigoted Presbyterians, and held Papistical views of a more dangerously fanatical kind than those of many English Catholics. It was thus not surprising that James should have manifested a special interest in the prosecution of the Jesuit emissary Father Ogilvie, in February 1615, regarding whom he gave directions that if he was merely a Jesuit he was only to be banished, but that if he maintained "the Pope's transcendent power over kings, and refused to take the oath of allegiance," they "should leave him to the course of law and justice." As Ogilvie failed to give a satisfactory answer to five questions, he was put to trial, when he indulged in declarations so "intolerable" that he was immediately found guilty, and on the afternoon of the same day he was hanged in the public street in Glasgow.

No meeting of the assembly of the Kirk had been held since the abolition of Presbyterianism in 1612, until that summoned to meet at Aberdeen on August 13th, 1616, which gave its sanction to a new confession and also to a liturgical service, the clergyman being allowed, however to "conceive," in addition, "his own prayer;" but James had more complete innovations in view; and in fact he described the results of this Assembly's attempts to meet his wishes as mere "hotch potch," that is a miscellaneous hashed-up mixture.

It was clearly the aim of James by his visit, to create in the minds of his subjects a deep impression of his power and consequence; but although the stage management for this purpose was on a colossal scale, it was after all very much, to use his own words, a "hotch potch." He crossed the Tweed on May 13th, 1617, accompanied by his principal English councillors, including Bacon, Southampton, Pembroke and Villiers, lately created Earl of Buckingham, as well as by several bishops and other clergymen,

including Laud, who was now, so to speak, serving that ecclesiastical apprenticeship to the British Solomon, which was to make him the uniquely pre-eminent High-Churchman of British history. But James was not to be accompanied with merely a select company of dignitaries : his retinue was anticipated to reach 5,000, all of course on horseback; and although the numbers turned out to be exaggerated, the resources of the Edinburgh of that day, notwithstanding months of preparation and great expense, were insufficient to afford satisfactory accommodation for the southern invasion. Wherever James moved—and notwithstanding his high ecclesiastical purposes he was as zealous as ever in his recreation of the chase at his old haunts—he taxed the whole resources of a county to supply him with horses and wagons, for the transport of his luggage. In short, he demonstrated beyond cavil that Scotland had now a monarch of power and pretensions, before which those of his predecessors and those of himself during his ante-English reign, paled into insignificance. In view of his arrival, the castle and Holyrood had undergone great renovation : and he also gave orders that an organ should be fitted up in Holyrood chapel, and a band of choristers trained, so that the service might be conducted after the Anglican manner. In order, as it were, to initiate the Scottish officials into the new order of things, they were required to attend the services, and receive the communion in the kneeling posture. To enable him to carry out the innovation on which he was now bent, he had endeavoured to get an act passed by the estates which met on July 12th, that conclusions taken by him with the advice of the archbishops and bishops, should have the force of law; but notwithstanding the enthusiastic manifestations of loyalty occasioned by his visit, and the new respect entertained for him as the monarch of both kingdoms, he found the estates were too shrewd to be so dazzled by the glamour of his new dignity, as to surrender to him any of their rights; and even after, on the advice of the bishops, a new clause was added, to the effect that “a competent number of the ministers should be consulted,” such was the general discontent at the new powers desired by the King that he deemed it inexpedient to

proceed with the proposal. His aim in making it was that he might have the power to put in force five articles providing, (1) for kneeling at communion, (2) the administration of communion to the dying, (3) the observance of baptism on the first Sunday after the birth and if necessary privately, (4) the observance of the old Christian anniversaries, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, and (5) the observance of confirmation. Failing to get from Parliament recognition of the ecclesiastical authority he claimed, he now sought to force the articles on a clerical convention held at St. Andrews on July 13th; but they advised him that it would be more expedient to submit them to a General Assembly. He left Scotland on August 4th; but in accordance with this advice he submitted the articles to an Assembly which met in November at St. Andrews. This Assembly however dealt with the subject in a very gingerly and non-committal fashion—only agreeing to article 2, and this with reservations; while the consideration of the others was meanwhile deferred. This of course gave no satisfaction to James, who remarked that as he was now come of age, he was “not content to be fed with broth.” The most obnoxious of the articles were 1 and 4; but they were also those dearest to the heart of James, who, moreover, was not disposed to make a compromise in regard to any of them; and after threatening those of the clergy who were recalcitrant with the loss of their stipends—which, however hard and unfair it might be, he was legally within his rights to withhold—he summoned an Assembly to meet at Perth on August 25th, at which the articles were carried by a majority of 86 to 41, the 12 bishops voting of course in the affirmative, while of the laity 28 voted for and only 2 against them, and even in the clerical vote there was a majority of 9 in their favour. Though there is no evidence that the majority of the people of Scotland were opposed to the articles—the probability is that they were not—the minority were so bitterly convinced of their Popish, and therefore sinful, character that the attempt to enforce them caused an opposition which finally culminated in the great covenanting struggle.

On his way home from Scotland, James had an opportunity of manifesting that, absolutist as were his notions in regard to his own prerogatives, he was the reverse of tyrannous in his administrative aims : his ideas in regard to civil freedom were, in fact, enormously more enlightened than those of the party that was most desirous of limiting his power. Discovering that in Lancashire the attempts of certain Puritan magistrates to enforce a form of Sabbatical observance never formerly associated with Christianity—although England, and also, especially, Scotland had already begun to succumb to it—were causing much dissatisfaction, and even tending to strengthen the influence of Catholicism, he prohibited every legal interference with the old immemorial amusements of the day, leaving it however to the clergy, should they think proper, to advise their flocks against engaging in them. But he was, himself, in favour of the amusements, for he could not but discern that the objection to them was rooted in the persistent Puritan conviction of the general sinfulness of sports, which were the main delight of his own life ; he manifested, therefore, his partiality for the traditional Sunday of Christianity, both by his own method of observing its non-ecclesiastical hours, and by ordering that the Declaration in regard to sports should be read from the pulpits throughout the Kingdom. The Declaration in no way interfered with personal liberty, nor did it even advise the observance of sports : it merely declared that they must not be forbidden ; but if tolerance in regard to Sunday observance is not in England fully understood even yet, we need not wonder that it was not fully understood by the Protestants of that day. On the contrary, the novel Sabbatarian notions in regard to Sunday had made such progress that his proposal caused quite a ferment among certain classes of the clergy ; and he therefore deemed it wiser not to insist on the reading of it. The truth was that, in his efforts to subdue Puritanism, he had been induced to entrust the ecclesiastical courts with powers, which no ecclesiastical court can be trusted to use wisely ; and already their purely ecclesiastical zeal was menacing civil society with a tyranny as dangerous as that of Puritanism. A protest

against this ecclesiastical dominance was made by John Selden in his *History of Tithes*; but James was mainly averse to that form of ecclesiastical dominance which directly threatened himself. Moreover, he was not partial to the public discussion of political matters; and although he saw nothing objectionable in his book, and was friendly disposed to its author, he not only allowed the Court of High Commission to suppress it, but prohibited Selden from entering into any further controversy on the matter.

Meantime the negotiations for the Spanish match, suspended for a time, on account of the tragic Somerset discovery, had been again resumed through the medium of Digby. Still, no real progress had been made towards an agreement; for though as much as £600,000 was offered by Spain as a marriage portion, James could not—even had he wished—have obtained from Parliament the repeal of the recusancy laws. Moreover, he was not sorry that he could not, for he had thus a wider scope of action; and although he clearly wished to bring about peaceful relations with Catholicism, he was as opposed as ever to Popery. Nevertheless, neither party desired to break off negotiations; for while Spain wished to secure at least the neutrality of James and also to prevent him seeking an alliance with France, James had still hope that, through the good offices of Gondomar, less stringent conditions might yet be obtained. While negotiations were in this indeterminate condition, news arrived not merely of the failure of Raleigh to obtain the treasure of which he had gone in search, but of the attack by his men on the new Spanish town of San Thomé. Much has been made of what has been termed the subservient attitude of James to the Spanish ambassador in regard to the punishment of Raleigh. But, in the first place, James perfectly well knew that it had all along been the hope of the Anti-Spanish party to get England embroiled with Spain through the well-known rash adventurousness of Raleigh; and, in the second place, knowing this, he had distinctly promised Spain that, if Raleigh should attack the Spaniards, his disobedience would not be condoned. No doubt had Raleigh succeeded in

his quest, all would have been forgiven him; for that James would have been so conscientious as to have resigned his good fortune in the interest of Spain, is inconceivable; but to have both disobeyed his orders and to have disobeyed them to no purpose, was beyond possibility of pardon. Raleigh, in fact, admitted that he had designedly misled the King: he had concealed, he said, from his Majesty, that the Spaniards had any footing in Guiana, but thought his own previous taking possession of it for England and the consent of the inhabitants there, authorized him to drive away the Spaniards. Also, he urged that the Spaniards had no right to Guiana, and that it was impolitic to admit that he had acted wrongly, as the King's claim to Guiana would thereby be forfeited. In short, he took upon him to decide how best the interests of the King were to be served, without the least attention to the King's definite instructions. Knowing that the King wished to preserve the friendly relations with Spain, he practically resolved to sever them. This, apart from the personal questions that dictated the policy of the King, might or might not be desirable; but that Raleigh should have taken upon him to decide the matter, was the very effrontery of treason. Since the sentence of execution passed in 1603 still hung over him, it was decided—though probably mainly on the grounds of political convenience—that he could not be formally tried for a new offence; but, before a warrant was passed for his execution, he was interrogated as to his new offence by the Council, who advised that the old sentence should be carried out; and on October 29th, 1618 he was beheaded in Old Palace Yard. By virtue of his sentence, Raleigh, in 1603, had suddenly become a popular hero; and his death, justifiable or even necessary though it may have been, only surrounded his memory with a brighter halo: this not so much because, notwithstanding his ill-regulated ambition and other strange weaknesses, he was a man of great gifts and noble aims, but because he was deemed the victim of an attempted alliance with what Carlyle terms that “potent, world-rich, wondrous but infernal country” which was England's traditional enemy.

The distinguishing characteristic of the later years of the reign of James was the augmenting influence of Villiers, who from being supreme favourite rose to a position of seeming predominance over the King. The explanation of his exceptional authority is what must now mainly occupy our attention; but the explanation involves the consideration of more than is apparent on the mere surface of events. The younger son of Sir George Villiers of Brokesby, Leicestershire, by his second wife, this, the last, favourite of the Scoto-English King, was a fortuneless boy, and by direction of his mother had been specially trained in the external graces and accomplishments most likely to promote his success at Court. For this *métier* he was also greatly gifted by nature. In person he was incomparably handsome. "From the nails of his fingers—nay from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head," writes Hacket in his *Life of Williams*, "there was no blemish in him. And yet his carriage, and every stoop of his deportment more than his excellent form, were the beauty of his beauty." He was reputedly "the handsomest-bodied man of England;" his features were correspondingly pleasing; and his disposition, though impetuous and haughty, was tempered by a peculiar strain of sweetness. Naturally of a bright and lively temperament, he had also from a two-years residence in Paris acquired much of the polished finesse of the French *galant*; and possessing a vivid and quick intelligence he had a pleasing gift in conversation. By common consent he was far the most fascinating young man of his time; and it was impossible that the King, with his peculiar susceptibility to personal charm in his friends, and his passion for the bright and agreeable aspects of life, could fail to be very pleasantly impressed by him. In person and manners we must believe that he had much the advantage over Somerset, who, handsome athlete though he was, lacked Buckingham's peculiar elegance, and whose gaiety was becoming more and more clouded over by mordant gloom. Though possessed of more solid gifts than Villiers, he probably appeared, in comparison with him, almost clownish both in person and bearing; but the rivalry between the two had hardly

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, AND FAMILY.

From the Painting by Gerard Honthorst, in the National Portrait Gallery, London.



time to develop before it was ended by the revelation of the Overbury murder.

The first position obtained by Villiers at the court, was that of cupbearer to which he was appointed in November 1614. Immediately thereafter his strenuous mother sought to utilize the Anti-Spanish party in assisting her to secure for him such promotion as would bring him into more immediate contact with the King, so that his shining qualities might transfer to him the place in the King's favour then held by Somerset. The main tool which she made use of for this purpose was the grave and solemn Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, anti-Catholic though he was, strangely enough induced the pro-Catholic Anne, apparently from some private dislike to Somerset, to procure Villiers's advancement to the office of gentleman of the bedchamber, which was conferred on him August 23rd, 1615. Nevertheless, though the anti-Catholic party succeeded even beyond their brightest expectations, in advancing the fortunes of their *protégé*, they found themselves no nearer to the accomplishment of their main aim. The reason was that they were under a misapprehension as to the King's individuality, which was shared in by all who did not know him intimately, and in regard to which it was no part of his wish to deceive them. Under an apparent carelessness in regard to administrative details, and a seemingly almost exclusive immersion in sport and amusements, he concealed a very intimate knowledge of the more critical aspects of his affairs, and a quenchless determination to follow a policy of his own both in foreign and domestic matters. If he gave his full political confidence to the person he elevated to be favourite, he gave it to no one else; and in adopting a favourite to assist him in the management of affairs, his purpose was to have as free a hand as possible in carrying out his main ends. To the favourite he was extremely liberal and indulgent, and he allowed him a wide scope of decision in regard to many matters of mere routine; but his aim was to bind him by gratitude and affection entirely to his service, and in all matters of high moment to make him wholly subservient to his will. The patrons of Villiers, as

the preceding narrative will have shown, were wholly out in their surmise that James had been led to favour the Spanish marriage through the intrigues of Somerset and the Howards: on the contrary, it was because he was set on effecting the Spanish marriage that he had received the Howards into special favour; and Somerset in conducting the negotiations for the marriage was merely performing a diplomatic duty entrusted to him by the King, because Somerset's ability, and his connection with the Howards pointed to him as the person most likely to discharge the difficult task in the manner most consonant to the King's interests. But the King had no wish to deliver the Anti-Spanish party from any fond delusions they might cherish as to the success of a scheme, the character of which he doubtless perfectly understood. From early childhood, he had learned the art of pursuing his own plans under a show of indifference, or even of seeming assent to the purposes of others. When the discovery of the Overbury murder blasted the future of Somerset, a new confidential favourite became necessary, and since the Anti-Spanish party had had the forethought to bring under his attention a charming young man whom he had come very much to like, he determined to make trial of him; for it was of course his hope that the favourite should please him in the management of affairs, as he had done in person and manners, and not be the favourite.

On account of the sudden calamity to Somerset, the advance of Villiers into the full favour of the King was necessarily very rapid. In January 1616 he was made master of the Horse, and on July 7th he was installed a Knight of the Garter. On August 27th he was at Woodstock created Baron of Whaddon, "which ceremony," says Chamberlain, "was no sooner finished but he was brought to be created Viscount Villiers." In January 1616-17 followed his elevation to the earldom of Buckingham, and in February he was sworn a member of the Privy Council "being the youngest seen to sit at that board."

In sending to Villiers his patent to a peerage, Bacon, now that the star of Villiers was in the ascendant, took occasion to show his interest

in his fortunes by giving him some general counsel : advising him more especially to “countenance and encourage and advance able men, and virtuous men and meritorious men in all kinds, degrees, and professions,” and to think “goodness the best part of greatness.” Naturally of an open and frank disposition, as yet unspoiled by a sense of power and unbounded flattery, and, while full of buoyant joy at his good fortune, anxious as to his success in a position of such high responsibility, Villiers was naturally gratified by the almost fatherly interest in his success manifested by one of so great repute as Bacon ; and bethinking him that the detailed direction of one so deeply versed in affairs might prove an invaluable help to him, he requested him to send some written instructions for his guidance. The long letter of advice thereupon penned by Bacon was doubtless thoroughly well-meant. He clearly wished to enable Villiers to become a wise and efficient lieutenant of the King, so that the King’s administration of affairs should be as prosperous as possible. Yet there is something almost pathetic in the thought that Bacon was now reduced to undertake a duty so subordinate. At the accession of James and again at the death of Salisbury, he had volunteered his advice to his sovereign on the chief matters of policy, doubtless with the fond hope that one apparently so discerning as James would not overlook his qualifications for high political office ; and now on the disgrace of Salisbury’s successor Somerset, finding that the King had still no desire to avail himself of the immediate use of his wide knowledge of men and affairs and his surpassing abilities, he was fain to be content to play the very minor part of political mentor to the handsome stripling, whom the King delighted to honour more than all the high dignitaries of State. Bacon’s private reflections as he proceeded to pen his careful and elaborate document, must have been somewhat bitter and even cynical ; but he was too worldly-wise not to make the best of the situation, and thus without hesitation he cast in his lot with Buckingham, whose interests he sought to identify with his own. A good deal of the advice, which he deemed it advisable to send, happened, however, to be beside the point, and

was given on a misapprehension as to the relation of Buckingham to the King. It indeed says much for the prudence and reticence of Buckingham's predecessor, Somerset, that those statesmen who were in most intimate communication with him and the King, should have failed to realize to what an extent the favourite was the mere agent of the King's wishes. Yet even the more irrelevant portions of Bacon's counsel would in various ways be of great value to Buckingham, as a general survey of the field of domestic and foreign policy and an indication of the King's general attitude towards the questions with which he would have, under the King's guidance, to deal. Gardiner regrets the importance which Bacon in his instructions assigns the Privy Council as compared with the Parliament. "That Parliament should attempt to overrule the policy of the government was," he says, "an idea to which it did not occur to Bacon even to allude;" and he mourns Bacon's blindness "to the value of free political life" in the "inauguration of great reforms;" but Bacon, if he lacked the advantage of having been born in the nineteenth century, knew his own times even better than we can now know them, though we surely know enough of them to realize that the political situation was not so simple as Gardiner seems to assume. Indeed, it is more than hard to understand how Gardiner with his verdict that the Commons of those days were a mere "undisciplined mob," and with his discernment of the intellectual and social unrest and bitter religious strife of the period, could deem anything worthy to be termed "free political life," to be as yet possible.

The installation of Buckingham in the King's favour was bound to mean sooner or later the fall of the Howards; and their endeavour to stave this off by the expedient of bringing forward another young man, Sir William Monson, as a rival of Buckingham for the King's favour, only hastened their inevitable fate. Like the Anti-Spanish party they entirely misread the King's character. No one was more constant in his friendships. "I can never," he says, "hate the person I have once placed my affection upon. I may hate some vice of his, which may lessen my favour, but

never bend my heart against him, nor undo him unless he undoes himself." Somerset had undone himself, but as yet Buckingham had shown no signs of waywardness towards the King. And, apart from the King's entire satisfaction with Buckingham, he naturally wished to be free from association with the shadow cast on the Howard family by the Overbury murder. Northampton, the head of the house, had happily died before the facts of the murder had leaked out; but it could not be concealed that he had virtually been his niece's confederate in it; while Suffolk, innocent of any suspicion of the dark conspiracy, had the cruel ill-fortune to be the father of the murderess. We may thus well believe that at this time the whole house of Howard stank in the nostrils of the King, and that he would welcome any feasible excuse for severing his outward connection with it. More than this, he had evidently discovered that under the auspices of the Howards the great government offices, held mainly by them and their dependents, had become mere seats of corruption and inefficiency. The blind oblivion of the public interests, the lazy incompetence, the base scheming, the unprincipled rivalry, the insensate greed incidentally revealed in connection with the dismissal of the Howards, convincingly exhibits the seamy side of the court life of the period; and casts a lurid light on some of the cardinal difficulties of the King's situation. It may be granted that the disgraceful pass to which things had come, is partly accounted for by the King's own careless and easy temper; but even the most seemingly absolute of Kings are often less than other Kings their own masters. There was hardly a great noble—dependent though James, in his now peculiar situation, so largely was on the goodwill of the nobles—in whom he could place full reliance, unless the reliance was made sure by ties of interest; and the situation was still further complicated by the latent discontent of irreconcilable factions. Moreover, corruption and incompetence are pestilent weeds which seem to find a specially congenial soil in the public departments of State; and they are almost bound to become rampant unless checked by a superintendence that is exceptionally discerning and resolute, or unless sub-

jected to the strong light of publicity. Even with our improved notions as to public honesty, how to obtain thorough and economical efficiency in all departments of State is a problem that is not absolutely solved : in the time of James there was the peculiar disadvantage that the nobility were unaccustomed to the social conditions that followed the decay of feudalism. Life was becoming less simple and stern than of old ; and the new forms which power and wealth were beginning to assume had smitten the nobility—and especially the female portion of them—with a strong partiality for luxury, and with a craving for money almost as eager and insatiable as that which frets the speculative gambler of the present century.

It was in some respects fortunate that at this time the main offices of the administration were held by the Howards and their dependents, for since riddance of them was in other respects desirable, James found an opportunity for a general financial reformation which in other circumstances would not have been so easy of accomplishment. The fact that the Countess of Suffolk had been in the habit of taking a toll of bribes on payments out of the treasury would not—during the heyday of Howard favouritism—have seriously imperilled her husband's position as Lord High Treasurer, but it now led to further enquiry, which gave cause for his resignation, July 19th, 1618; Sir Thomas Lake, secretary of State, a dependent of the Howards, was with his wife and daughter condemned by the Star Chamber, February 13th, 1618-19, to imprisonment and other penalties for a scandalous conspiracy against Lady Exeter; Wallingford, Master of the Wards, trustworthy if not brilliantly capable, but having the misfortune, like Somerset, to be the son-in-law of Suffolk, was told that his resignation was desirable; and the proved incompetency of Nottingham as Lord High Admiral caused him to be superseded, January 20th, 1619, by Buckingham. Those removals gave opportunity for the institution of important financial reforms in the main departments of administration. Whatever may be said against the selection, outwardly fantastic, by James, not of a powerful and experienced noble but of a merely youthful scion of secondary social rank, as his chief

GROUP OF PORTRAITS :

- (At top).* HENBY RICH, EARL OF HOLLAND, by J. Hoskins.
(On left). CATHERINE CAREY, COUNTESS OF NOTTINGHAM, by Isaac Oliver.
(On right). CATHERINE KNEVETT, COUNTESS OF SUFFOLK, by N. Hilliard.
(In centre). HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, by N. Hilliard.
(At bottom). LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY, by Isaac Oliver.

From the Miniatures in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch at Montagu House.



confidant and the main executor of his wishes, it must be admitted that by this means he was enabled to effect financial and administrative reforms, which would have been impossible under the old traditional system of regarding the higher offices of State as the mere perquisites of the nobility. Whether in the choice of Buckingham he exemplified his own maxim that "the wisdom of a King is chiefly seen in the election of his officers, as in places which require a peculiar sufficiency not to choose them that he affects most but to use every one according to his proper fitness," he at least endeavoured to put it in practice in filling up the positions now made vacant. Sir George Calvert, the new secretary of State, was an admirable official, who had no axe of his own to grind, who was unhampered by extreme ecclesiastical prepossessions and who recognised, rightly or wrongly, that it was his main duty to give his best assistance to the King in the policy he elected to follow. Lionel Cranfield, who latterly became treasurer, and was at this time surveyor of the customs, was now employed in making minute enquiries into the King's private expenditure. Originally he was only of humble rank, but having succeeded in becoming a London merchant, he had that practical knowledge of business, of which the heads of government offices are often so loftily innocent; so that by means of his vigorous and masterly regulations, and without any reduction of recognised salaries, an annual saving in the household and wardrobe was effected, amounting to no less than £50,000. A navy commission succeeded in discovering both how that principal arm of defence might be made thoroughly efficient, and how this might be achieved at a cost of some £25,000 less than that deemed necessary to accomplish only dire failure. The report made the retirement of Nottingham as High Admiral inevitable, and Buckingham who succeeded him took good care that every subordinate should realize that the intention of his appointment was not that he might find means of plundering the public purse, but that he might give his best services to his King and country. "Everywhere," says Gardiner, "retrenchment had been carried out under the influence of and by the co-operation of Buckingham. It

is no wonder that the King learned to place implicit confidence in his youthful favourite, and to fancy that he had at last discovered that of which he had been in search during the whole of his life—the art of being well served, without taking any trouble about the matter himself.” But in the first place it is by no means clear—rather the opposite—that the King took no trouble about the matter. Indeed the idea—current in the time of James and repeated without sufficient enquiry into facts by even the most careful of modern historians—that James in England unduly neglected his sovereign duties, is pretty much the reverse of the truth. It originated mainly in his frequent absence from London for the sake of the chase; but his very retirement from the London court afforded him more leisure for attending to State affairs. “I held acquaintance,” says Hacket in his *Life of Williams*, “with some that attended the principal secretary there, who protest that they were held to it closer, and sate up later in those retirements than at London. The King went not out with his hounds above three days in the week, and hunting was soon over. Much of the time his Majesty spent in State concerns and at his book.” Doubtless, in the more important matters, Buckingham was instructed to consult with him; but, in regard to general administration, all, of course, that he or any other sovereign could do, was to see that he had thoroughly efficient and trustworthy officials. Admitted that his particular method had its drawbacks—that to govern by means of a favourite was more or less a violation of the rights of the Privy Council and was bound in the long run to involve a variety of evil consequences—still, the expedient had certain advantages. It was almost the only one to which in the peculiar difficulties of his situation he could have recourse: in adopting it he was not influenced by a mere foolish fondness for a pleasant companion; and if foolishness was not quite absent from the arrangement, there was a certain method in the foolishness. One important drawback, which in the case of Buckingham was aggravated by accidental circumstances, was that the favourite, having succeeded in making himself almost indispensable to the King, had manifold opportunities

of manifesting his insolence and pride, and of, in other ways, misusing his position. Necessarily, also, the system gave deep offence to the nobility; and since every one in seeming power was the mere creature of Buckingham, James, as Gardiner states, might "find himself served by excellent clerks" but he "would have no statesmen to consult." Doubtless this was a sorry condition of affairs, but then was it possible for James, with the ends he had in view, to put much trust in the most prominent politicians of his time? On the contrary, was it not essential for him to be as unhampered as possible in his pursuit of a policy which he knew that few, if any, of his councillors could meantime appreciate, but which, rightly or wrongly, he judged to be the best available out of a very sorry list of choices? Meanwhile, by filling the higher offices rather by "clerks" than by the class of persons conventionally termed "statesmen," a marvellous improvement in business capacity and consequently in the finances had been effected. Not that by any means an ideal condition in the management of the administration had been attained, or that corruption had altogether ceased. Promotion to high honours sometimes depended less on merit than on purchase power in hard cash; but in the majority of cases no direct evil consequences resulted. Such distinctions as peerages, for example, had not always been bestowed on account of high service to the State. They were rather the mere badges of favouritism; and by the commercial element with which favouritism was now thoughtfully tempered, James had the happiness to provide himself occasionally with much-needed pocket money. Buckingham continued also the traditional custom of exacting a toll from all applicants for minor offices, though there seems to have been no sufficient warrant for Clarendon's statement—except as regards Buckingham's own family—that he "was guided more by rule of appetite than of judgment." But the custom of bribes continued to infect more or less every department of the administration including even the law courts; and of its baneful results there could be no more striking example than the fall in 1621 of the great Lord Bacon, who was perhaps at heart less corrupt than the majority of those who gave judgment against him.

In a time so corrupt, the decrease in state expenditure could not have been effected without great resolution and watchfulness. Happily the improvement in those qualities was more than temporary; and since the lessened expenditure was conjoined with a marked improvement in the revenue returns—owing especially to the augmenting value of the customs—the question of ways and means was becoming much more hopeful. From the rapid growth in prosperity following the years of peace since the King's accession, the financial dependence on parliamentary votes had greatly diminished; while, with the improved prosperity, there was notwithstanding the religious trouble, a growing content. Since the conclusion of peace with Spain, facilities for trade had immensely increased; London was growing so rapidly as actually, in those unsophisticated and unscientific times, to give cause for serious anxiety; in the provincial towns James gave encouragement to a variety of new manufactures; and England was beginning to manifest that peculiar commercial aptitude which was to make her the envy of the world. Partly through the good offices of England, an era of peace seemed to have dawned in Europe; and James—either serenely unsuspecting of the latent elements of strife that were already silently converging for the great European conflict known as the Thirty Years War, or in hopes of contributing to the indefinite prolongation of the peace—caused to issue in 1618, by the name of *The Peace Maker*, a manifesto in praise of amity and concord—"O blessed jubilee, let it be celebrated with all joy and cheerfulness, and all sing *Beati Pacifici*."

But of course a love of peace may indicate rather weakness than strength of character; and this interpretation of the predilections of James for peace is the most common one. Yet if partly true it is hardly the whole truth. Heroic enterprise did not appeal to him, but when put to it he was well able to hold his own; and had the interests of Britain—that is his own interests—been seriously endangered, we may be perfectly certain he would have shown no white feather. He was apprehensive more than cowardly; he greatly loved ease and quiet; but he was

LUCY HARRINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

From the Miniature by Isaac Oliver in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch at Montagu House.



quite capable of making a firm stand or even forming a bold resolution should his salvation depend on it. Indeed his domestic policy had been bold almost to the verge of infatuation; and his summary treatment of even the high nobility of England indicated in some respects great power of will. If his foreign policy was rather conciliatory than bold, this was partly because he thought that his own special interests would be best served by the promotion of peace. In contrasting his attitude towards foreign conflicts, and especially towards Spanish ambition with that adopted by Elizabeth, it is necessary to bear in mind the immense change in the political situation caused both by the union of the crowns and the successful resistance of the Dutch. "Much" so, in opposition to the common view, writes Professor Seeley, who was quite untouched by the usual Protestant prepossessions:—"much is said of the littleness and half-heartedness of the Stuarts, who could not rise to the idea of protecting the interests of Protestantism abroad. In this respect, however they did, not differ from Elizabeth, who had always refused the part of the champion of Protestantism, and who aided the Dutch grudgingly, reluctantly and always barely as much as needed, not for their deliverance but for the safety of England. Only what seemed enough when it was still doubtful whether the English were a Catholic or a Protestant nation, dissatisfied a later generation which was ardently Protestant." But this very cogent comment of Professor Seeley applies rather to the Stuarts generally than to the individual case of James I. To fully differentiate the case of James from that of Elizabeth we must also bear in mind (1) that, though no more than Elizabeth an extreme Protestant, James was more deeply interested than she had been in ecclesiastical matters; (2) that the foreign Protestant ruler whose fortunes were to be now more particularly involved was his son-in-law the Elector Palatine; and (3) that his policy was also influenced by considerations of European moment. His policy is not fully explained by the theory that he was dazzled and deluded by the prospect of a Spanish marriage though this prospect had an important bearing on it. The part at this time played in European politics by mar-

riage arrangements has been admirably expounded by Professor Seeley. "Everything in the intercourse of States turned on marriage; and the greatest affairs, war and peace, union or separation of kingdoms, rise and fall of religions, waited on the convenience of a bridegroom and bride." He also points out that it was impossible for James to occupy, in this respect, the same independent position as Elizabeth. Elizabeth "without hereditary title and kinless had ruled the country with regard to its interests. James occupied no such strange lonely position, but belonged more undeniably to the royal caste. It was natural for him to fall back into the ordinary groove of monarchical policy and to occupy himself with marrying his sons and daughters." But of course James had other choices than a daughter of Spain; and, at this particular stage, efforts were made from many quarters to induce him to select another bride for his son. A French match was suggested, but this was little more satisfactory to the Protestants than the Spanish match; and the others were all of a rather second-rate order. The worldly prestige of a Spanish match was then deemed greater than any other; but the match had also the very special recommendation, on the one hand, of providing a possible bulwark against the extreme Protestantism which he regarded as the great bane of Britain; on the other, of promising the possibility of a reconciliation throughout Europe between Protestantism and Catholicism, a reconciliation which James fondly hoped might lead to some adjustment of differences, and to such a monarchical confederation of Christendom as would strangle that worst foe of monarchy—Puritanism. Nor although the scheme was hampered, as regards its immediate popularity in England, by the high terms of Spain in the matter of Catholic tolerance, was it rendered altogether nugatory by them, since it was part of the scheme to effect some kind of religious toleration, as between Protestants and Catholics throughout Europe. Whether James showed a dangerous weakness in acceding so far as he did to the demands of Spain, is of course open to debate; but this must be considered in relation to his own religious views: in his revulsion from Puritanism and its consequences

he had developed strong predilections for a High Churchism which, as regards ceremonials, did not differ essentially from Catholicism. Naturally the disadvantages of the Spanish alliance were minimised very greatly by his sanguine imagination; they could not present the same aspect to him as they did to the majority of English Churchmen; but in any case, except as to the degree of concessions to Catholicism that were being demanded of him, he was not being led astray by Spain, which on certain conditions was as anxious for the match as he was. For good or evil, the marriage would have taken place but for unlooked-for contingencies. The incalculable factors in the situation, which were to prevent the remarkable experiment, were his son-in-law the Elector Palatine, and the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria.

To Ferdinand of Styria, the childless Emperor Matthias and his two childless brothers made over in 1617 their asserted rights to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. In the case of Bohemia, with which we are mainly concerned, certain rights of election by the Estates were supposed to exist, though for some time they were practically dormant; but a Bohemian diet, summoned for June 5th, was induced by the Emperor formally to accept Ferdinand as King, on the ground of inheritance; and he was crowned on the 19th, on the understanding that his royal rights should remain in abeyance during the lifetime of the Emperor. Philip III. of Spain as descended from Maximilian II, while Ferdinand was descended only from his brother, had prior claims to the inheritance of both crowns, but in consideration of the conveyance to him of certain Italian fiefs he resigned his rights in Ferdinand's favour. This full reconciliation between the two branches of the House of Hapsburg was to have fatal consequences to the great scheme of James, for it morally bound Spain to do nothing to interfere with Ferdinand's ambitions, but rather to support them to the utmost. The unlucky aspect of the Bohemian arrangement so far as James was concerned was that Ferdinand was a Catholic of a peculiarly narrow type, and entirely under the dominance of the Jesuits, the great champions of the Papal supremacy. Thus by a chain of cir-

cumstances, partly inevitable in the very nature of things and partly created by the idiosyncrasies of the Elector Palatine and Ferdinand of Styria, a great European religious conflict was to be provoked, as a minor or major consequence of which the marriage project of James, with its Utopian possibilities, was to be brought to a sudden termination. Shortly after the coronation of Ferdinand a movement, partly at his instance and with his entire sanction, was begun for depriving the Protestants of their very doubtful rights to erect churches on ecclesiastical lands; and the prohibition by the Emperor of a Protestant diet to discuss the matter, led to a peculiar exhibition of contemptuous violence in Prague, certain members of the Board of Regency being thrown by the Protestants leaders from a window of the chamber, immediately after which the reins of government were seized by the Protestants, who, being largely in the majority, soon became masters of the country. To secure the success of the Protestant cause in Bohemia, the Elector Palatine endeavoured to procure the countenance of James for a scheme for the election of the Duke of Savoy as emperor on the death of Matthias, on the understanding that he would support the cause of the Bohemian Protestants. But, apart from other difficulties to his agreeing to such a proposal, James had an insuperable objection to giving any countenance to rebellion, and the fact that the rebellion was a religious one, rendered it, in his eyes, only the more odious.

While events on the Continent were steadily converging towards a momentous religious conflict, Queen Anne died March 2nd, 1618-19. How far this may have affected the subsequent procedure of James it would be idle to speculate, but, however it may have modified minor incidents, it can hardly have made an essential difference in the main subsequent events. Her direct political authority over him seems to have been but slight, though her Catholic sympathies may have indirectly influenced him more than he was himself aware. Her religious opinions caused him occasional inconvenience, but probably they troubled him less than her flighty ways and her uncertain temper. The two seem to have mutually agreed

that they could be on a more cordial footing when they did not see, too much of each other; but each understood the other sufficiently well, and the feelings of James towards her were usually highly friendly. Her death could hardly but have affected him deeply; though it was his conscientious habit to repress manifestations of sorrow, and to seek to consign his painful experiences as soon as possible to oblivion. Thus it is not surprising that grief is not prominent in some common-place lines which he wrote after her death, and in which he expresses the conviction that her "Majesty" would only be "refined" by death, and that she had only "left off earth to be enthroned above." At the time of her death he was lying so ill at Newmarket that his life was despaired of; and though he had recovered so far as to be removed to Theobalds in April, he was not present at the funeral on May 13th. With his usual aversion to the trappings of woe, he, a few days after the funeral, ordered that mourning should be laid aside in the court; and when on June 1st he returned to Whitehall after his sickness, both he and his attendants were clothed in gaudy apparel.

His grief and his recent sickness must have perceptibly increased in James the sense of discouragement produced by the Bohemian differences. "A crown of plated thorns," so he wrote in a *Meditation* on this subject in the Spring of 1620, "doth most vividly represent the anxious and intimate cares of Kings, who must not only look to be troubled with a continual care for the good government of the people, but they must ever expect to meet with a number of cross and intimate difficulties which will appear to be so full of repugnances among themselves, as they can scantily be touched without smarting." In the autumn of 1619 his son-in-law had suddenly presented him with a whole bundle of those "cross and intimate difficulties." Frederick had failed in preventing the election of Ferdinand, on August 18th, as Emperor; but outwardly he had some compensation for this disappointment in the fact that the revolted Bohemians had the previous day chosen him their King, in opposition to the sovereignty of Ferdinand, which two years previously had been recognised by the Estates.

He had been chosen against his advice that his father-in-law should first be consulted; and he now resolved to consult him before accepting the crown. To James as well as to Frederick, there was the temptation of the added dignity that would accrue to his descendants; but apart from this temptation, there was nothing in the election that James could regard with pleasure. Already he had declined to give any assistance to the Protestant Princes in their efforts on behalf of the Bohemians, and had, instead, been endeavouring through Lord Doncaster to bring about a compromise. No ambassador however tactful was likely to have succeeded in effecting a full reconciliation between Ferdinand and the Bohemian Protestants; but the methods of Doncaster, prejudiced Protestant as he was, would have spoiled a more hopeful case, for to Ferdinand he adopted such a tone as practically made further negotiations impossible. But willing as James was to do good service to the Bohemians their affairs were not a primary concern of his. Indeed the Protestant Princes seem to have been convinced that he would not, except on necessity, sacrifice anything on their behalf, for they advised his son-in-law not to consult him before consenting to be a candidate for the Kingship. In sending Dohna to James to intimate his election, Frederick stated that he wished to have his advice before accepting the crown, but that "his decision must be speedy." Much delay was of course inadvisable if it could be avoided; but an instant decision, where consequences so far-reaching were involved, especially a decision in Frederick's favour, could hardly be expected. Moreover, Frederick gave no pledge to bind himself, or to be in any way guided, by his father-in-law's decision, though he doubtless recognised the invaluable importance of a decision in his favour. Nevertheless Gardiner has not scrupled to saddle James with the main responsibility for Frederick's decision to accept the crown; and so prepossessed was he with this idea, that he made no enquiry into the significance of plain facts which were quite within the scope of his knowledge. "If, ever," he writes, "there was a case for swift decision it was this. Even now a word might have nipped the mischief in the bud. But James found it impossible to speak it."

Certainly James, rightly or wrongly, found it impossible to decide until he had laid the matter before the Privy Council, a meeting of which was summoned for September 10th, the eighth day after Dohna's arrival. This was a rather leisurely proceeding, and James was no doubt somewhat puzzled how to act; but his perplexity in no way affected the issue. Hardly had the Council assembled, when news arrived from Frederick that without waiting for his father-in-law's decision he had resolved to accept the crown; and had Gardiner thought of enquiring whether, without the loss of a moment by James in replying to the quite unlooked-for announcement of Dohna, an answer could have reached Frederick before he resolved to accept the crown, he would at once have recognised its impossibility according to the old methods of travelling; and James also in his speech to the Parliament in 1621 affirmed that Frederick came to his decision within three days after he had despatched Dohna to England. Frederick was in no way irritated, as it was impossible for him to be, at any delay in answering him on the part of James, when, on second thoughts and acting on the representations of the Prince of Anhalt—who urged that since he had done so much in encouraging his election, he could not now recede, whatever news he might receive from England—he resolved to forestall his father-in-law's decision by accepting the crown. Thus the main responsibility for the Thirty Years War rests primarily not—as Gardiner so strenuously insists—on the lack of decision in James, but on excess of decision in Frederick, coupled also, of course, with the narrow ecclesiastical zeal of Ferdinand, who was to be further instigated in his relentless action against Frederick by the ambition of Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, to obtain possession of the Palatinate.

By the inexcusable treatment of him by his son-in-law, James was placed in a more than awkward dilemma, though he could hardly have anticipated the disasters to his dearest hopes that were to ensue from this reckless attempt to force his hand, and from the subsequent manifestations of almost phenomenal wrong-headedness and incompetence by his

son-in-law. From the point of view of James, exceeding caution was imperative, and definite decision more difficult than ever. The fat was in the fire, and the threatened conflagration being of a very comprehensive character, James wished to avoid any action that would turn the flames in his direction. Naturally he was anxious for the fortunes, if not of his son-in-law, at least of his daughter and their children; and the Privy Council were for instant action on their behalf. But would instant action—such at least as the Council desired—have really mended matters? It was even by no means certain that it would have benefited the interests of Frederick; and it would have had a reverse effect on what James regarded as his own interests. It was bound to mean the abandonment of his hopes of the Spanish match, and a war between the whole combined hosts of Protestantism and Catholicism, with results so dire that one much more self-reliant and callous than he, might well have shrunk from doing anything to further such a possibility. Had he, however, been possessed of a bolder or less kindly disposition, or been more capable of deep resentment, or less hampered by the Protestant excitement in England, he might simply have resolved to allow Frederick to lie on the bed he had made. Yet even such a stern message might not, at more than the eleventh hour, have induced Frederick to turn back; and since James was not prepared wholly to sacrifice the interests of his daughter and her children, he probably adopted the wisest course that in such difficult circumstances was available. While pronouncing the conduct of the Palatine to be rash, he avoided direct opposition to the Protestant zeal of the Privy Council, by stating that “at his age he would not enter rashly in his support, but must first be convinced of the lawfulness of his election.” Gardiner sees in this resolution a mere “excuse for inaction;” but this is hardly just: as James said, the matter touched his honour, for he “wished for nothing but that every one should enjoy his own, and not lay claim to that which was his neighbour’s.” James also regarded a religious war with a kind of horror—in this respect and in his regret at the great Christian severance he curiously resembled the late Mr. Gladstone—and while he had sincerely

been doing his utmost to mediate a peace, his son-in-law had suddenly behind his back seized the Bohemian crown. "Who," James wrote to his ambassador Doncaster, "would imagine that our son-in-law would ever have entertained such a thing, and not have first acquainted us with it; and taken our counsel thereupon : but God knows our innocency herein, so we will plainly make it appear to the parties interested, how free we are from so unmeet a deed as publicly to profess mediation of peace behind a King and his subjects, and in the meantime secretly to combine with them against him for taking the crown from his head." But though almost compelled to act as he did, by the unwarrantable attempt of his son-in-law to force his hand, the necessity of enquiring into the legality of the election was highly convenient. It enabled him to put a drag on the Protestant enthusiasm of England; and, by declining meanwhile to support his son-in-law even indirectly—as for example by permitting the raising of a loan in London or the recruiting of English volunteers—he removed any suspicion entertained by Spain that he had been playing false with her and secretly encouraging the Bohemian revolt. Finally, having thoroughly enquired into the legality of the election, he also conveniently, as well as conscientiously and in entire agreement with his settled convictions as to sovereign rights, came to the conclusion that he could not support his son-in-law in his attempt to oust another sovereign from his throne. While of opinion that Ferdinand had no hereditary right to the Bohemian crown, and that the States were not bound to have admitted him as King, he held that they had no power to annul the election, once they had admitted him. As for Ferdinand's treatment of the Protestants, it was for Ferdinand himself and not for Protestant outsiders like Frederick, or James or the Princes of Germany to decide as to how Ferdinand should govern his own dominions. "Who made me," pertinently asked James, "a judge over Bohemia?" And to the argument that he ought to interfere for religion's sake, he replied that on this very ground he was debarred from interfering "as not holding with the Jesuits disposing of Kingdoms" but "rather learning with our Saviour to

uphold, not overthrow, them." To have been perfectly consistent, he ought of course to have left Frederick wholly to his fate; for, having sought to deprive a neighbour sovereign of his crown, the proper nemesis he deserved was to be deprived of his own. But (1) James had to make at least a show of allaying the Protestant anxieties of his subjects and (2) he could not leave wholly out of account the interests of his daughter and her children. Though therefore determined to do nothing to aid Frederick in holding Bohemia, he was not prepared to see his own grandchildren deprived of their inheritance in the Palatinate. Yet even his resolution to defend the Palatinate was reluctant, so long as Frederick persisted in his claims on Bohemia; and it assumed the form mainly of armed watchfulness. By declaring his intention not to allow the dismemberment of the Palatinate, he did not intend in any way to embarrass the Emperor in his endeavour to drive the Palatine from Bohemia. It has however been argued by Gardiner that had James given a favourable answer to Buwinckhausen, the ambassador of the German Princes, and had he promised at once to protect the Palatinate by arms and at all hazards, he might have compelled Spain to remain neutral, and the "settlement of the Peace of Westphalia might have been anticipated by more than a quarter of a century." But (1) James did not know that Spain had been induced to give her consent to the dismemberment of the Palatinate; (2) by defending the Palatinate at all hazards he would have unjustly assisted the Palatine in holding Bohemia; (3) unlike the Protestant Princes of Germany he had no special interest in the triumph of extreme Protestantism, but wished to assist by mediation in bringing the conflict to a close without any Protestant triumph; (4) he declined to be made the catspaw of his headstrong son-in-law; (5) he had no desire—though probably the Palatine had—to wreck the Spanish match, nor as yet had he given up hopes of the final reconciliation of Christendom; and (6) the temporal interests of England were not directly involved in the struggle. "These continental movements," justly remarks Professor Seeley, "did not directly threaten England. We may safely say that Elizabeth would have troubled herself

very little about them. She who had kept England at peace in a much more threatening condition of Europe would scarcely have gone to war for the Palatinate."

So long as James was ignorant of any design on the part of Spain to assist in a direct attack on the Palatinate, his best policy, even in the interests of his daughter and her children, was to remain on as friendly terms with Spain as possible. It is all very well to say that Gondomar was leading him by the nose, but should he then have submissively followed in the wild direction his son-in-law was seeking to lead him? As James put it to Gondomar, it was "much more reasonable that the Palatine should listen to an old man like me and do what is right in surrendering Bohemia, than that I should be involved in a bad cause." And yet modern Protestant moralists will insist that James, in the interests of a form of Protestantism with which he had but partial sympathy, should have stifled his conscientious sentiments, and have unjustly supported his reckless son-in-law in an enterprise which he was quite unfit to have the guidance of, and by so light-heartedly engaging in which he had, as James stated, "set all Christendom on fire." That fire could be quenched only by the Palatine being brought, as speedily as might be, to recognise the folly of the adventurous course he was seeking to pursue. James had therefore no objection that Spinola, the Spanish commander, should join in attacking Frederick in Bohemia; he was not even averse to the Palatinate being threatened, in order that Frederick might more speedily be brought to reason; as Buckingham put it, the Palatine required to be pulled off his high horse "in order to make him listen to his father-in-law's advice." Even, therefore, when James must have known that Spinola's destination was the Palatinate, he contented himself with sending, in July 1620, 2,000 men under Sir Horace Vere, who were merely to occupy the principal places and act strictly on the defensive. The attack on the Palatinate by the Spaniards in the autumn caused him, however—notwithstanding that his remonstrance to Gondomar, had led to a suspension of hostilities—to issue, on November 6th, a summons for

a Parliament to meet on January 6th, in order to make preparations for possibilities.

But events were marching much more swiftly than James or anyone else anticipated; for the competence of the Palatine was by no means on a par with his high spirit; and the Bohemians had lost rather than gained by selecting him as leader. They had, moreover, expected that his acceptance of their crown would mean the direct support of England; and when they found this denied them, they were not merely discouraged, but experienced a certain sense of betrayal. For lack of pay the soldiers had even turned mutinous; and the Palatine's deficiency not merely in military skill but in power of organization and even common forethought, boded quick disaster to his ambitious hopes. Though warned on the morning of November 8th, and even before this, that a great engagement was imminent, he only left his palace in time to witness the headlong flight of his troops from the battle of the White Mountain; and the loss of this battle sealed his fate so far as the possession of Bohemia was concerned. Not only was an attempt to rally his soldiers without effect; but such was their mingled disgust and despair that no further stand was made against the enemy, and the Emperor recovered Bohemia without requiring to strike another blow. Even then, however, the Palatine hardly abated a jot of his high pretensions. When, after a hasty flight to Breslau, he learned that no immediate help was available, he offered to renounce the crown, but the conditions he assigned to this condescension were so preposterous that no self-respecting victor could have regarded them seriously. Besides claiming that he should be put in undisturbed possession of the Palatinate, he not only proceeded to demand for the Bohemians the complete redress of their grievances, and the recognition of their free election rights, but the payment of the rebel soldiers' arrears, and indemnification for his own personal losses. By such an unconditional renouncement of his claims to Bohemia as James advised him to make, he might have saved his electorate, and further hostilities in Europe might have been averted : by adopting an attitude so preposterously out of keeping

with his desperate plight, he was virtually depriving the Emperor of any other option than to place the Palatinate under the ban and proceed to its conquest. In obstinately declining to submit to the humiliation of renouncing what he was unable to hold, he caused even a general lukewarmness in the German Princes as to supporting him further in the Palatinate; but they induced Spain to agree, on condition that meanwhile they evacuated the Palatinate, not to advance further into the Lower Palatinate until May 14th; and afterwards Spinola agreed to lengthen the truce until June 12th, should the King of England desire it.

In his speech at the opening of Parliament James pointed out that his son-in-law had accepted the crown of Bohemia without waiting for his advice, and this only three days after he had sent Dohna to procure it. He was thus free from all responsibility for his son-in-law's action; and he had refrained from assisting him in his designs on Bohemia "partly because he had always held it wrong to deprive princes on account of religion; partly because he was not well enough acquainted with Bohemian law to judge between the parties; partly because he had undertaken the office of a mediator." "But now," he added, "that the Palatinate, which was the inheritance of his grand-children, was invaded, he was determined to recover it. He hoped to do so by peaceful negotiations, but he could negotiate with greater advantage, if he were known to be prepared for war. And if negotiations failed, he was prepared to spend his crown, his blood and his son's blood in this quarrel." So favourable an impression did this declaration produce that two subsidies were at once voted; but the Commons, mainly at the insistence of the disgraced but irrepressible Coke, proceeded to appoint a commission to enquire into abuses — the marks at which Coke shot being mainly Buckingham and Bacon. Buckingham took the sting out of the attack on himself by cordially supporting the movement against monopolies; but Bacon was too seriously compromised to escape the results of impeachment; and Coke had thus at least the satisfaction of making his great rival his companion in misfortune. This having been practically achieved, Parliament then pro-

ceeded to consider the question of England's relation to what threatened to be a great European struggle by force of arms between Protestantism and Catholicism. That they should meddle with this caused James some uneasiness, though he was so far pleased that in this way it should be made manifest to Europe that he had the nation at his back in his resolution to defend the Palatinate; but when the Commons made the threatening aspect of the political horizon on the Continent, a reason for introducing still more severe legislation against Jesuits and Catholic recusants, he, on June 12th, prorogued Parliament, until he saw what could be effected on the Palatinate's behalf by means of negotiations. In this connection Digby had been sent on a mission to Spain, after which he proceeded to confer with the Emperor. He was so far successful that the Emperor promised to refer the question to a meeting of the Estates to be held at Ratisbon; but on account of the critical character of the military situation no meeting could be held, though the Spanish troops were meanwhile refraining from further attacks. Digby however failed—as, on account of the obstinate attitude of the Palatine, was inevitable—to obtain a suspension on the ban of the Empire against the Palatinate, or to induce the Emperor to agree to peace on the simple condition that he were left in undisputed possession of Bohemia. Digby therefore advised James that money should be sent to pay the troops of Frederick's general, Mansfeldt, in the Palatinate, and that he should be reinforced in the spring by an English army, for which a sum amounting to £800,000 would require to be voted. But here again there was the difficulty of the wrong-headed Palatine, with whose violent Calvinism and still more violent worldly ambitions James had no sympathy, and in whom he was unable to place any confidence, as regards either his ability or his intentions. This, combined with his relations to Spain, made it almost impossible for him at this stage to take so decided a step as Digby recommended, even had he been less averse to war than he was. On the reassembling of Parliament he, on the plea of the necessities of health, remained at Newmarket; and in a message to the Commons, while informing them that he was still

hopeful of success by means of negotiations, he desired that they should vote a grant sufficient to enable him to interfere effectively by force should this be necessary. Armed with such a grant, he would have a better chance of arranging a peaceful settlement, and he suggested that they should postpone further business until it was voted. The Commons declared their willingness to grant the vote,—but before doing so appointed a committee (1) to prepare a petition asking him to pass certain bills which they intended to prepare, and (2) to draw up a petition in regard to religion in which they recommended, (a) that he should immediately join the Protestant Princes of Germany not merely in defence of the Palatinate but on behalf of European Protestantism, and (b) that he should renounce at once the Spanish marriage project and arrange for the marriage of the Prince to one of the Protestant faith.

On learning of the latter petition, Gondomar despatched a letter to the King, the tone of which—though it may, with our notions of the prerogatives of Parliament, seem outrageously insolent—may be explained partly by the undoubted insult to Spain with whom James was engaged in arranging for a marriage alliance, and partly by his ingenuous amazement at the sheer audacity of the Commons' proceedings. But whatever view be taken of Gondomar's conduct, it cannot have sensibly affected the decision of James in regard to the proposed petition. Before it was presented, he wrote to them that he had learned that his necessary absence from Parliament had “emboldened some fiery and popular spirits to debate and argue publicly in matters far beyond their reach or capacity, and tending to” his “high dishonour and to the trenching upon” his “prerogative royal;” and he intimated that it was his pleasure “that none of them should henceforth presume to meddle with anything concerning our government or mysteries of State; namely not to speak of our dearest son's match with the daughter of Spain, nor to touch the honour of that King, or any other our friends or confederates.” On receiving the King's letter, the committee resolved to provide the deputation sent to carry the petition, with an explanatory petition, in which they admitted

that it was for him to decide both in regard to the match and the manner of conducting the war, but in which they also virtually claimed the right to discuss, and express an opinion on, matters that touched his prerogative. Since however the petition was expressed in language that was not merely respectful but almost deprecatory, he received the deputation pleasantly enough, though he jocularly asked the attendants to "bring stools for the ambassadors" — for such the deputation were apparently assuming themselves to be. In his letter to the Commons he was also most careful, while admitting no right on their part even to discuss such a high matter as his relations with foreign powers, to remove, so far as he could, their anxieties in regard to the interests of Protestantism in England. At the same time he pointed out the extreme inconsistency of their position; "for," said he, "in the body of your Petition you touch upon our Prerogative Royal, and meddle with things far above your reach; and then in the conclusion you protest the contrary, as if a robber would take a man's purse and then protest that he meant not to rob him." You have affirmed, he said, "that the honour and safety of us and our posterity, and the patrimony of our children invaded and possessed by their enemies, the welfare of Religion and State of our Kingdom are matters at any time not unfit for your deepest consideration in Parliament." And "to this generally we answer with the Logicians that where all things are contained nothing is omitted : so as this prerogative of yours invests you in all power upon earth, lacking nothing but the Pope's to have the Keys also of Heaven and Purgatory." But having, as he supposed, "redd the marches of their jurisdiction," he proceeded to explain to them as fully as possible the political situation. He averred that "the beginning of this war, which hath set all Christendom on fire, was not for religion; but only caused by our son-in-law, his hasty resolution to take to himself the crown of Bohemia." This was undoubted fact, only we must here have regard to the proverb, *Cherchez la femme*; for the underlying cause was the ambition of the King's own daughter, who knowing both her father's love of peace and

his kindly interest in her own welfare, hoped to concuss him into a course of action entirely opposed to his own inclinations. The strategy failed; but with characteristic good nature he overlooked what he must have clearly discerned; and he therefore intimated to the Commons his determination to "labour by all means possible either by treaty or by force to restore" his "children to their ancient dignities and inheritance," and that "neither shall the match of our son, or any other wordly respect be preferred to this our resolution." But he further informed them that, while they ought to know him too well to suppose that he would do anything to endanger the interests of Protestantism in England, yet as regards the Spanish match, "we cannot," he said, "in honour go back except the King of Spain perform not such things as we expect at his hand."

The tone of the letter, if firm enough so far as regards his prerogatives, was both in manner and substance more than conciliatory, for in so fully explaining his position he had given them more of his confidence than they were constitutionally entitled to. The explanation had however curious results, for while it disarmed opposition to his foreign policy—as, if not in all respects what their superior piety and wisdom would have dictated, at least excusable in the peculiar circumstances in which he had allowed himself to be placed—it led the Commons into a discussion as to their special privileges and especially as to their right of free speech. As a sort of plaster to their wounded self-esteem, they drew up a protest, which they did not venture to send to the King but which on December 18th, they ordered to be entered in the Journal of their proceedings. It asserted "that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, State and defence of this realm and of the church, and the making and maintenance of laws and redress of grievances which daily happen within this realm are proper subjects and matters of Council and debate in Parliament," and that "the Commons of Parliament and every member of that House have full liberty and freedom to treat of these matters in such manner as they deem fit, free from all impeachment, imprisonment and molestation other

than by the house itself." On learning of this protest, James on December 30th, went to Whitehall, and sending for the Journal of the Commons, in the presence of the Council and judges tore the protest from the book. Finally, on January 6th, Parliament was dismissed without supplies being voted; and in order further to accentuate his contempt for the protest, he sent the irrepressible Coke and other leaders to the Tower, while Sir Dudley Digges and other minor offenders were dispatched on a disagreeable mission to Ireland. Shortly afterwards he published for the edification of his subjects a pamphlet which has been curiously overlooked both by historians and biographers, and which is not included in the supplement to the collected editions of his works. It contains the Commons' petitions, his letters to the Commons—connected by a commentary of his own—and his verdict on their proceedings. In his preface he states that his intention in publishing it is that "the truth of this particular concerning our own honour and the satisfaction of our subjects should be represented unto all men without veil or cover" (there was no publication, be it remembered, of the proceedings of Parliament in those days); and he attributes all the "evil" to the fact that "some discontented persons," endeavouring "to clog the good will of the Commons with their inexcusable ends, fell to dispute in the House of our high privileges, namely of the match of our dearest son the Prince, of the making war with foreign Princes our allies, between whom and us there was a firm peace, religiously made and observed hitherto—all which they covered with the cloak of Religion, and with the fair pretext of a dutiful Petition to be proffered to us." As to the protest, he describes it as "a Protestation for their liberties in such ambitious and general words as must serve for future times to invade most of those Rights and Prerogatives ancient to our imperial crown." Gardiner of necessity concedes to James "that the rights which he claimed were rights of which, as he said, 'he found his crown actually possessed;'" but to this he adds: "unfortunately for him, he could not see that the legacy which Elizabeth had left him was one of a nature to do him more harm than good;" but would Elizabeth,

or Henry VIII., or Cromwell, had he been born in the purple, or any strong-minded and able ruler whatever, have consented to deliver himself, as Gardiner recommends, bound hand and foot into the power of the Commons? Or had the Commons at this period possessed the supremacy which Gardiner would, without resistance, have given them, would they have cut a much better figure than James? Or rather would not the confusion have been still worse confounded? And whatever may have been the lack of forethought and narrow dynastic selfishness by which the foreign policy of James was honey-combed, it was in this respect thoroughly wholesome and satisfactory, that it recognised the criminal absurdity of joining in the Continental *mêlée* on behalf of the general interests of Protestantism.

Nevertheless James and the Commons between them assisted to make the cause of the Palatinate—which was of course from the point of view of James, though not of English Protestants, mainly a dynastic cause—more hopeless than ever; and with the cause of the Palatinate was bound up the cause of the Spanish match, which, while it had come to be to James, even on account of the Palatinate difficulties, more desirable than ever, was to the Commons mere *anathema maranatha*. A monarch at once more resolute and farsighted, and less subject to fits of irritation than James, might, at this juncture, have avoided a rupture with the Commons, had he very strongly desired to do so; but it is quite possible that James did not think that a large vote was a crying necessity. His main hope was not in coercing Spain but in securing her goodwill. And again, had the Commons been more anxious to save the Palatinate and European Protestantism than to prevent the Spanish match, they would not have been so easily led astray by Coke and other pedantic legalists. Their main hope was that James, by entangling himself in the Protestant wars abroad, would be compelled to break with Spain; while all that James desired was to save the Palatinate for his family; and this he hoped to do mainly through the Spanish alliance. In order that he might not suffer in European estimation, he however sought to raise money for troops by means of

impositions and benevolences, but as by both he obtained no more than £80,000, he lost rather than gained in repute, for he merely demonstrated the exact extent of his helplessness. But his chief handicap in his efforts was, as before, his son-in-law. In November James had at last succeeded in inducing him to renounce his claims to Bohemia, and to promise the adoption of a reasonable and proper attitude towards the Emperor; but hardly had this been settled, when he again proved unmanageable, and by his resolution, while negotiations were in progress, to continue the struggle in the Palatinate, rendered futile the attempts of his too good-hearted father-in-law to save him from his well-earned fate. On June 10th, 1622, Mansfeldt was completely routed at the battle of Höchst; and shortly thereafter Frederick retired into Alsace, the only troops left to defend his cause being the English garrisons in Heidelberg, Mannheim and Frankenthal.

Heidelberg fell on September 6th, and Mannheim on October 24th; and James had failed to get acceptance even of his proposal for sequestrating Frankenthal in the hands of the Infanta Isabella, when, relying still on obtaining through the good offices of Spain the restoration of the Palatinate, James and Charles on January 2nd, 1622-3, signed the marriage treaty. Meanwhile Frederick by his countenance of Mansfeldt's predatory incursions, and his airs of injured innocence, was playing to perfection the game of his adversary the Emperor; and doing his best to justify him in, on February 13th, handing over the electorate to the care of Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria. So admirably in the wrong had Frederick placed himself, that there was more than a semblance of magnanimity in Ferdinand's offer to restore to him his lands and territories as soon as he sought pardon. The electorate was also bestowed on Maximilian only for life, so that the possibility of Frederick's children enjoying it was in a manner left open. In view of the wrong-headed obstinacy of Frederick, the arrangement was so reasonable that James could hardly, for the time being object to it; while it did not wholly shut the door of hope against a satisfactory arrangement being arrived at through the intermediation of

PRINCE CHARLES,

Afterwards King Charles I.

From the Painting in the Collection of Viscount Dillon at Ditchley, Enstone, Oxfordshire.



Spain, though an immediately favourable issue would plainly be a matter of difficulty.

Completely possessed though he had been by the idea of the Spanish match and its beneficent consequences to Christendom, James was doubtless now beginning to realize that the game after all might go against him, and that his great idea might not, at least in his lifetime, be realized. The constant irritation and wearing anxiety produced by his son-in-law's too evident lack of common sense, and the misfortunes that had overtaken his daughter and her children, were beginning to break down his health and impair his buoyant confidence in himself. But for this, it is unlikely that he would, against his own better judgment, have consented that Buckingham and Charles should in February 1623 set out *incognito* for Madrid, in order in this irregular fashion to hasten an arrangement. If a marriage on such conditions as James could accept was still possible, the only chance of its attainment was by now leaving negotiations in the hands of Digby, whom he was virtually sending Buckingham and Charles to supersede. Henceforth, indeed, James begins to manifest symptoms of that intellectual and moral breakdown which frequently overtakes those previous favourites of fortune who in late middle life have to face the shock of a great calamity; and thus, almost impassively, he was allowing the reins of government to be transferred to his son, who was virtually under the tutelage of Buckingham. The mere appearance of Charles in such an irregular fashion at Madrid was almost a violation of diplomatic propriety; and its disadvantages were patent : (1) he could hardly avoid assuming in some sense the character of a suppliant, and thus Spain became more confirmed in its attitude of condescension; (2) his presence encouraged the hope of his conversion to Catholicism, and produced a desire to delay the marriage until this was effected; and (3) it led to the insistence on terms still more favourable to Catholicism in England. These disadvantages might have been counterbalanced had Charles been allowed, as he desired, to prosecute his suit directly with the Infanta; but, besides that the only interviews permitted between them were of

a most formal character, the Infanta had conceived a strong antipathy to him.

Representations having been made that it would be difficult to obtain approbation from the Pope, Olivarez told the Prince that if James were "content to acknowledge the Pope as chief head under Christ," the match might be made without this. The suggestion did not however tempt James to move a step from his old position. "I am sure," he replied to his son, "ye would not have me renounce my religion for the world;" and he declined to go beyond what he had published in his reply to Bellarmine — to the effect that he was willing "if the Pope would quit his godhead, and usurping over Kings, to acknowledge him for the Chief Bishop, to which all appeals of Churchmen ought to lie *en dernier ressort*." To have an opportunity of furthering this arrangement was really one of his main aims in the marriage scheme; but that Philip IV., with whom he had now to deal, would, more than his predecessors, be prepared, as a preliminary, to accept this solution of the difficulty, could hardly be expected; and any hope of it must have vanished after the refusal of permission for the Prince's chaplains to enter the Palace, where James had wished the Spanish authorities might have had an opportunity of witnessing a service "decent and agreeable to the purity of the Primitive church, and yet as near the Roman form that can be." This refusal was, as James said, "an ill preparation for giving the Infanta free exercise of her religion" in England; but the difficulty had always been that an exhibition of tolerance on the part of James had seemed merely to encourage Spanish demands.

Spain had now, however, to deal rather with Buckingham and Charles than with James, though his two "boys" continued in most loving and respectful fashion to inform their "dad" of all the varying phases of the negotiation. On April 29th, the Prince playfully asked that his father should give him plenipotentiary powers in the following terms: "We do hereby promise on the word of a King that whatever you our son shall promise in our name, we shall punctually perform;" and to this James

made no demur. When however, on June 14th, Cottington brought a letter from Charles announcing that it was proposed that the Infanta should remain in Spain till the following Spring, James gave expression to his disappointment and alarm in pitiable terms. "Your letter by Cottington," he writes, "hath stricken me dead : I fear it shall very much shorten my days. . . ." "Come speedily away, and if ye can get leave, give over all treaties. And this I speak without respect of any security they can offer you, except ye never look to see your dad again, whom I fear ye shall never see if you set not out before winter. I care for match, nor nothing so I may once have you in my arms again. God grant it, God grant it, God grant it, Amen, Amen, Amen!" On second thoughts, and after the fit of perturbation had passed, he however gave his consent to the marriage articles in the hope that the Infanta might be permitted shortly to return with the Prince; and Charles finally agreed to a treaty on condition that the marriage took place in September, and that the Infanta sailed for England in the Spring. On July 20th, James signed articles in which he secretly agreed to allow Catholics to worship in private houses, and to relieve them from the pressure of the penal laws; but since he nevertheless reserved the liberty to put the laws into execution, should political necessity require it, he virtually pledged himself to almost nothing. Further articles were, on pressure by Spain, accepted by Charles, whose very difficulty in holding intercourse with the Infanta had tended to fan the flame of his passion; but it was by no means violent : on August 10th, James had urged him to return as soon as possible either with, or without his bride, and the procrastinating methods of Spain had so irritated his self-esteem, that at the instigation of Buckingham they in October sailed for England without the Infanta. The main difficulty was the Palatinate. Spain was willing, and honestly willing, to use its influence with the Emperor to secure as favourable terms as possible for the Palatine; and James—who of course knew that the main blame had rested, and still rested, on the Palatine—was disposed to trust to the good intentions of Spain; but Buckingham, who especially resented his treatment at Madrid,

advised Charles to agree to the marriage, only on condition that Spain resolved to make the cause of the Palatine its own. It was impossible for the King—broken down as he now was in health and spirits—to oppose his son, in whom his main affection and hopes were centred, and who, he knew, would very soon succeed him. Buckingham boldly backed up Charles in the determination which was mainly his own; and with the support of the Parliament and the nation induced the King on March 23rd, 1624, to declare the treaty with Spain dissolved. Buckingham also, secure in the favour of the rising sun, took advantage of the meeting of Parliament to obtain the impeachment of Cranfield, whom the King, in gratitude for his services in delivering him from financial ruin, had but lately created Earl of Middlesex. The charges of bribery against Cranfield were but paltry, and that the King permitted Buckingham to proceed against him, sufficiently shows, that, nominally sovereign though he still was, he had become merely “a poor, infirm, weak and despised old man.” On learning of Buckingham’s purpose he, according to Clarendon, exclaimed: “By God Steeny, you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, and will find that in this fit of popularity you are making a rod, with which you are to be scourged yourself.” Submitting, however, as in the main he did, to be ruled by Buckingham and Charles, James retained all his main convictions both in regard to domestic and foreign policy; and steadfastly opposing the proposals of Buckingham for a general religious war against Spain and the Emperor, he decided that the efforts of England, on behalf of European Protestantism should be limited to the recovery of the Palatinate. But in regard to the match with Henrietta Maria of France—the negotiations in connection with which were mainly in the hands of Buckingham’s friend, Henry Rich, Viscount Kensington, and afterwards Earl of Holland—he was induced to coincide with the terms agreed upon by Buckingham and Charles. He had always contemplated such an arrangement as a possible alternative to the Spanish match, and for the ruin of his more ambitious hopes he found some consolation in the signature of a treaty for the marriage, December 12th, 1624, although he did not live to see his son married.

FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER, DATED 40TH AUGUST [1623], FROM KING JAMES I.
TO PRINCE CHARLES, when the latter was at Madrid.

My dearest Sonne I sent you a comendement long ago^e
not to loose tyme, quhaire ye are, but ather to bring
quite the hoame youre mistresse, quhiche is my
earnist desyre, but if no better maye be, rather
then to linger any longer tharre, to come withou^t
her, quhiche for manie important reasons I am
now forcid to renewe. So thairfor I charge you upon
my blessing, to come quite the ather with her or with^{out}
her, I knowe youre love to her person hath enforcid
you to delaye the putting in execution of my forme
comandement, I confesse it is my cherefist word the
joye, that ye love her, but the necessitie of my effaire
enforcith me to tell you, that ye muste preferre the
obedience to a father to the love ye carrie to a
mistresse. So god blesse you.
James P.

comburme the 10 of auguste.

James never recovered from the severe illness about the time of the Queen's death; and he was oldening with startling swiftness. His growing inertness both in body and mind, was the joint consequence of his anxieties, and his too great indulgence in stimulants. That he was seldom overcome with liquor is explained by his "strong head," a peculiarity which was inherited by his great-grandson Prince Charlie. "Although," says Weldon, "he seldom drank at any time above four spoonfuls," yet he "drank very often," and his "drinks were of that kind for strength, as frontinac, canary, high country wine, tent wine and Scottish ale, that, had he not had a very strong brain, he might have been daily overtaken." Weldon's statement is fully confirmed by Roger Coke and others. On account of a weakness of his legs he was also, according to his physician Mayerne, always "very clumsy in riding and hunting;" this growing defect coupled with his increasing unwieldiness, made it necessary that latterly he should be trussed in the saddle; and, he became so inert that, says Coke as he "was set, so would he ride without posing himself in his saddle, nay when his hat was set on his head, he would not take the pains to alter it, but it sate as it was put on." Coming as it did in what was practically his old age and after a life of prolonged anxiety, the breach with Spain quickly completed what the course of nature was beginning to effect. It "took," we are told, "a deep impression on him;" and he was never again his old self. Thus neither physically nor mentally was he well equipped for resisting a serious illness; and an attack of tertian ague, by which he was seized on March 5th, 1625, carried him off on the 27th. He was buried in the tomb of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey.

Whatever view may be taken of the character of James as a whole, of its variety and complexity there can be no doubt. An enthusiastic sportsman—among his original achievements in this guise was the introduction of horse-racing as a scientific and aristocratic amusement—he was also a bookworm, an accomplished theologian, and a convinced and earnest ecclesiastic; and sincere and devout Christian though he was, he still observed

almost religiously the old Scottish regal habit of rude and indecorous jesting, and in his fits of passion he would, we are told, not only "swear," but "curse." At heart rather melancholy, and too much a prey to evil forebodings, he yet exhibited great delight in merry and witty conversation, to which he contributed his full share. While largely dominated by theological beliefs, he was permeated more than most theologians, by the secular and artistic influences of the Renaissance. Plain and careless in his own dress and even somewhat unsavoury in his habits, he delighted in the gay accoutrements both of his horses and attendants, was a very martinet in regard to the apparel of those at court, and exhibited quite a passion for brightness and gaiety. In some respects in advance of his age in enlightenment, he was yet, owing largely to his interest in the supernatural, a peculiar slave of witchcraft and other superstitions. While inordinately strict as regards the letter of his prerogatives, he was yet exceptionally free from tyrannical intentions, and comprehensively interested in the welfare of his subjects; and while quick to take offence at trifles, he was peculiarly kind and long-suffering even with serious transgressors. With those in whom he had confidence an absolutely trustworthy friend, he was also a thorough master of deceit and capable of conduct that was grotesquely mean, when he deemed this necessary for any particular end. Apparently an idle and careless ruler, there is now abundant evidence that he was exceptionally diligent, keeping a watchful eye on the whole domestic arrangements of his three kingdoms, and busying himself with varied schemes for their welfare. His mastery of deceit, exceedingly comprehensive as it was, seemed to indicate a certain inveterate timidity; but when brought face to face with danger, he manifested marked courage and self-possession, and both his domestic and foreign policies were determined less by fear than by supreme regard to the interests of his dynasty, in defence of which he was prepared to face all consequences,

Of the literary characteristics of James—who in this respect is perhaps now best known by his *Counterblaste to Tobacco*—a sufficient idea

will have been gained by previous incidental allusions and quotations. As a prose writer he was, according to the prevailing fashion, mainly moralist, ecclesiastic, theologian, or politician; and notwithstanding a certain acuteness and insight, he was very strictly fettered by the intellectual limitations of his time. In the technicalities of verse writing he had been thoroughly grounded in his youth; but though he practised the art with a certain amount of skill, he was in no sense a poet. He had a high regard for the old Scottish "makaris," and with Montgomery and other Scottish poets he was on terms of familiar intimacy. In England he had also associations with the more aristocratic Scottish poets who practised English verse, and along with William Alexander, he essayed a poetic translation of the *Psalms*, which when published after his death, by Alexander, was hardly deemed a success. We have little information of his connections with English men of letters; but he appears to have conversed a good deal with his laureate Ben Jonson, who probably commended himself to him as much by his learning, as by his skill in the construction of the court masques. According to Jonson, James had no very high opinion of contemporary English poets. "The King," Jonson told Drummond of Hawthornden, "said Sir P. Sidney was no poet; neither did he see ever any verses in England equal to the Sculler's (i.e. Taylor the Water Poet). . . . He (Ben Jonson) said to the King that his master, Mr. George Buchanan had corrupted his ear when young, and learnt him to sing verses when he should have read them." We thus learn indirectly that James probably had not realized Shakespeare's poetic supremacy, though he perhaps distinguished poetry from the drama; for he manifested an undoubted partiality for Shakspeare's plays. Laurence Fletcher, of Skakespeare's company, was "Comedian to his Majestie," as early as 1601; and shortly after reaching London, James granted a special license to the company of which Fletcher and Shakespeare were members, and which was henceforth known as "the King's servants." That he had also conversed with Shakespeare as with Jonson we may well believe, though, in accordance with that curious silence which has engulfed the life of the Bard of Avon,

there is not the smallest information on the point. But we at least know that he was a frequent witness of Shakespeare's plays, several of the best of which were first produced after his accession; and we are informed that on one occasion—probably after a series of Shakespearean performances in the winter and Spring of 1604-5—he wrote Shakespeare an “amicable letter,” with his own hand. Critics have also conjectured that it was in compliment to James that Shakespeare selected the theme of *Macbeth* for a tragedy; and various incidental allusions have been pointed out, in other plays, which were apparently meant to be indirect tributes to his royal patron.

Latterly the intellectual interest of James seems to have centred chiefly in learned and theological discussions. Isaac Walton, for example, mentions in his *Life of Donne* that the King was “always much pleased when Mr. Donne attended him, especially at meals, where there were usually very deep discourses of general learning, and very often friendly disputes or debates of religion between his Majesty, and those divines whose places required their attendance on him.”

His early training and his peculiar experiences in Scotland left an indelible impress on the character of James and largely determined his whole future career. The theological indoctrination he received from Peter Young coloured his conceptions of sovereignty, and shaped the main features both of his domestic and his foreign policy. Besides leading him to elaborate a distinct theory of his own as to the character of the sovereign's office, it enabled him to pose as the ecclesiastical director of his fellow sovereigns, and the reconciler of the conflicting interests of Protestantism and Catholicism. Moreover, his natural quickness of apprehension had been developed by the careful and systematic methods of his tutors; so that he mastered with almost no effort the knotty details of constitutional questions, and on points of legal jurisdiction was quite a match, and even something more, for the learned and formidable Coke. Nor is he adequately defined as a clever pedant, or accomplished doctrinaire, or even as, in the hackneyed phrase of Sully, “the wisest fool in Christ-

endom." Like the majority of such current formulas, this latter description is quite as misleading as it is enlightening. Doubtless to his contemporaries he often seemed to be a fool, since they had but a faint comprehension of his aims, his standpoint, or his methods, and inevitably made more account of his superficial eccentricities than of his more solid gifts. This tendency has influenced all the estimates of him by contemporaries, and it is even mirrored in the amusingly realistic portrait of him by Scott, who allowed himself to be too greatly dominated by the contemporary gossips that he edited, and, who, besides being influenced by such records of current prejudices, lacked the fuller information of later times, which must greatly modify the earlier estimate of James both as man and King. Sir Anthony Weldon's graphic portrait of James, excellent as a mere work of art, has been accepted by Scott and therefore by later writers, as in substance correct and complete, whereas the inveterate propensity of that clever kitchen knight for satire and caricature is, in the case of James, exercised with a skill that is all the more perfected, in that the propensity is partly veiled. A careful consideration will show that it is only the defects of the King's personal appearance that he is concerned with, and the general effect aimed at that of mischievous caricature — the representation in an exaggerated and half false way of the peculiarities of a personality, which as a whole seems to have very favourably impressed other equally intelligent observers. "He was," says Weldon, "of a middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough, his clothes ever being made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto proof, his breeches in great plaits and full stuffed; he was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted doublets; his eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger that came in his presence, insomuch, as many for shame have left the room, as being out of countenance; his beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him speak full in the mouth, and made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup of each side of his mouth; his skin was as soft as taffeta sarsnet, which felt

so, because he never washed his hands, only rubbed his finger ends slightly with the wet end of a napkin; his legs were very weak, having had (as was thought) some foul play in his youth, or rather before he was born that he was not able to stand at seven years of age; that weakness made him ever leaning on other men's shoulders, etc." The portrait, which is too long to quote in full, is lacking in truth mainly, perhaps, because it does not tell the whole truth. But accurate even if it be as a representation of certain external peculiarities, we obtain from it no real information as to his personality; no more than a funny description of Dr. Samuel Johnson at his meals would help us to an understanding of Johnson's social attractiveness. Whatever the external eccentricities and defects of James, he was much more than a mere eccentric; he was even in certain respects of quite remarkable talent : an exceptionally accomplished scholar, a match for any theological disputant of his time, a master in constitutional law, and, with all his apparent openness, a surprisingly adroit schemer. In addition also to the fact, which of course is not conclusive, that the impression produced by Weldon's description is somewhat belied by the King's portraits, we have clear testimony that the King's personal appearance cannot be quite properly described as either ludicrous or displeasing. Cardinal Bentivoglio refers to him as "of a fair and florid complexion, and lineaments very noble to behold." Arthur Wilson states that on the whole he was "not uncomely," and Nicolo Moulin, the Venetian ambassador, in his Report of England in 1607, tells us that he was of "noble presence." We have also a sketch of his appearance by Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli,—in a letter to the Doge May 28th, 1603,—which, in some respects as detailed as that by Weldon, is without any touch of caricature. "He was dressed," says Scaramelli, "in silver grey satin, quite plain, with a cloak of black tabbiset reaching to below the knee and lined with crimson; he had his arm in a white sling, the result of a fall from his horse when out hunting, which occasioned more danger than damage; from his dress he would have been taken for the meanest among the courtiers, a modesty he affects, had it not been for a chain of diamonds

KING JAMES I. AND VI.

From the Painting by Paul Van Somer in the National Portrait Gallery, London.



round his neck, and a great diamond in his hat : they say is it the one Don Antonio of Portugal pledged for eighty thousand crowns, but is now valued at two hundred thousand. As to the appearance, height and complexion of his Majesty, let your serenity recall the late illustrious Frederici Nani, ten years before he died, and you may say that you have already seen the King of England : I never remember such a striking resemblance."

So much for the external personality of James. In deciding as to the character or degree of his foolishness or wisdom, it is necessary to remember the extraordinary, and in a sense unparalleled, character of his situation as British sovereign. To all who were not strict Catholics, tradition had ceased to be either an ecclesiastical or political guide; and the problems presented to a Protestant monarch such as James—a monarch whose relations to Protestantism had been in part determined for him by his predecessors on the English throne, especially Henry VIII. and Elizabeth—were exceptionally puzzling. There are periods in a nation's and the world's history, when a very commonplace, or even somewhat stupid, ruler may cut a very respectable figure, and leave behind him an almost edifying reputation; there are others when even the ablest and wisest ruler may find himself unequal to the task assigned him, and may count himself happy if he is remembered merely as a brilliant failure. Such rulers in particular as by an unhappy and unavoidable fate find themselves confronted by great intellectual or social movements, the significance of which cannot be comprehended by them or their contemporaries, are destined to be crushed either literally or in their reputations. Circumstanced as he was, James had, whether he knew it or not, little better than a choice of evils. If he chose the lesser evil of the two, it can hardly be affirmed that he did so by virtue of superior wisdom; for, inheriting the ancient traditional conception of sovereignty, it was impossible that without a struggle he should consent to be overborne by the Commons. If he showed exceptional insight, it was in the discernment not merely that Puritanism was inconsistent with absolute monarchy but that—to use the

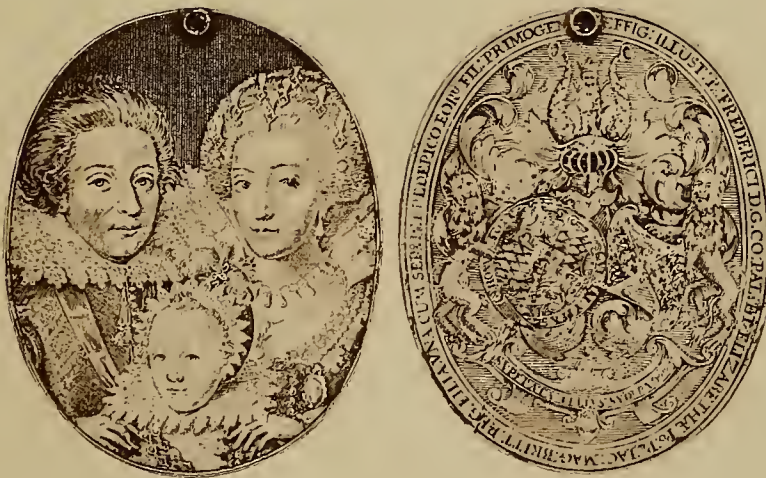
words of Dr. Cunningham in his admirable work *The Growth of English Industry*—"its social influence was most mischievous," and that it implied "the deliberate acceptance of a lower tone of social duty." Gardiner is on the one hand so generous as to pronounce that if the ideas of James had been "realised both England and Europe would have been in far better condition than they were," and on the other is apparently so inconsistent as to affirm that "he sowed the seeds of revolution and disaster." The former statement would almost seem to imply that that disaster was sown not by James, but by the inevitable trend of events. But apparently Gardiner did not sufficiently recognise that James had ideas beyond Christian toleration—that he wished to introduce a modified Catholicism as a universal panacea for the political and ecclesiastical troubles of Europe. This enlightened mediævalism could hardly have commended itself to Gardiner; but it failed of realization, not from any lack—as Gardiner in regard to the "ideas" of James, supposes—of persistent effort. Whether it could ever have been attained must be regarded as at least problematical, but even the preliminary steps towards it were blocked by the personal ambition of the Palatine. And as for "revolution and disaster," even if James recked nothing of this possibility, such short-sightedness is pardonable in view of his regard to the greater disasters that might have followed an opposite course of action. Nor are the disasters that actually happened a proof that he did not render a great service to his country by the successful stand he made against Puritanism in his lifetime. On the contrary, by preventing its immediate triumph, he did much to assure that its triumph when it came would be only temporary. Had Puritanism triumphed before the influences of the Renaissance had reached their full fruitage it would have obtained a hold on England such as it had obtained on Scotland; and thus the reaction against its fanatical extremes would not have been so complete and swift as it was. Elizabeth had done much for the consolidation of Anti-Puritanic influences—with which of course certain evils of laxity were necessarily associated—and James completed what she had begun. It is to the countenance and protection of both that we are indebted,

FREDERICK OF BOHEMIA, ELIZABETH STUART, AND THEIR SON,
FREDERICK HENRY.

From plaster casts of a silver plaque, engraved probably by Simon Passe, in the British Museum.

for example, to the development of the English drama; and a nation with access to a literature so superbly true, on the whole, to the realities of human character and life as is the Elizabethan-Stuart drama, can never be satisfied with the desolations of Puritanism.

It was not because he came athwart Puritanism that James failed, but because failure of one kind or another was inevitable. His great attempt to limit the results of the Reformation movement in Europe, so as to preserve intact the ancient form of sovereignty, was necessarily a mistaken one. It even indicated a misapprehension of the political forces of his time which forbids us to regard him as a great statesman; but he had the shrewdness to discern the danger by which sovereignty was threatened; and the device to which he sought to have recourse to avert the danger, was that best adapted for his purpose, though untoward circumstances denied him its use.



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